Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-94-049 *14 March 1994*

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Croats, Muslims Agree on Draft Constitution

LD1303232094 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2240 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Excerpts] An agreement has been reached in Vienna, that is, a draft constitution for the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been signed. Our correspondent Mirjana Rakic is on the phone from Vienna. Good evening, colleague Rakic We waited for 10 days. What has actually happened now?

[Rakic] Statements, that is, an agreement has been reached. Nothing has been signed in Vienna. The signatures will be put down only in Washington, as Charles Redman said, at the end of this week, that is, around Friday the 18th—the date that was mentioned yesterday.

The agreement on the draft constitution of the federation has been reached. This is an agreement in principle on the issues which were not disputed in the beginning—a confederal union. What remains to be solved now are details of measures in the interim period, that is, from now until the establishment of the future federation, which implies the parallel functioning of the existing authorities and interim bodies until the constitutional assembly and new elections are held. [passage omitted]

We have not been able to obtain the draft constitution which has 52 pages. Charles Redman said that the draft will be ready tomorrow because it simply needs to be printed. His statement leads one to believe that a great compromise has been reached because, according to him, both the president and the government have great authority. We can see what is whose specific competence only when we obtain the document. [passage omitted]

Agree to 2 Cantons

AU1303154194 Paris AFP in English 1527 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] Vienna, March 13 (AFP)—Bosnian Croats and Moslems reached an agreement here Sunday [13 March] on creating a canton for each group in central Bosnia, authoritative Croat sources announced.

The accord came after talks on forming a Croat-Moslem federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina resumed at the U.S. Embassy, amid signs that negotiators would probably reach an overall agreement later in the day.

Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic earlier said: "We shall try to finish up this morning," while Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said he was "still optimistic."

Croat sources said late Saturday [12 March] only "a few technical problems" remained and a global accord would probably be announced Sunday.

The behind-closed-doors talks began here on March 4 after Granic and Silajdzic signed an initial agreement on March 1 in Washington.

French Commander Urges NATO Responsiveness

LD1303151094 Paris France-Info Radio in French 1345 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] Our interview guest is Colonel Legrier, commander of French forces in Bihac. Edouard Balladur has now arrived in Bosnia after travelling from Zagreb. He is due to visit Bihac, a Muslim enclave besieged by the Serbs, where a French UN soldier was killed on Friday [11 March]. Systematically targetted in the last few days, the UN soldiers on the ground want stronger powers to hit back. Colonel Legrier:

[Begin recording] [Legrier] The visit by our prime minister and our defense minister is very much appreciated, because we have been in an extremely tense situation over the last two weeks. Our men have been repeatedly targetted and have come very close to death. They have behaved quite magnificently, and the presence among us today of these two high-ranking officials is very good for their morale.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you expect something in particular from this visit? We know that the French forces deployed in Bihac have called for NATO air strikes.

[Legrier] That is quite true. On Thursday [10 March], I asked for a NATO air strike, which could not be carried out. I asked for one again last night [12 March]. I received authorization for a strike, but unfortunately it came too late: The target that had been attacking us had time to disappear into the undergrowth, so we were unable to strike. What we need is a great deal of determination on the part of the authorities in order to raise the many constraints that are weighing down the decisionmaking process, and which make our decisions very difficult to carry out.

[Unidentified correspondent] Do you think that the political authorities need to go further still?

[Legrier] I honestly think we have gone some way to solving the problem in Sarajevo by showing a great deal of determination. We need to show the same determination everywhere. [end recording]

'Hooligans' Assault ALEANCA Editor Teodor Keko

AU1403114394 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 12 Mar 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Prec Zogaj: "Hooligans Assault With a Knuckle-Duster Teodor Keko, Deputy and ALEANCA Editor in Chief—Procedures To Settle Accounts With Opposition Journalists Accelerated"]

[Text] Handcuffs, iron bars, and brass knuckles are the fringe benefits now awarded to journalists of the free and opposition press. A handful of prosecutors and ministers, and bandits and hooligans of the night, have closed ranks in the defense of Selami's model democracy, mercilessly striking out against journalists. This unprecedented political aggression reached an unexpected climax at about 2000 on Thursday evening [10 March]. Deputy Teodor Keko, one of the founders of the opposition press, a well-known writer, and for the last two months editor in chief of ALEANCA, was treacherously assaulted in the dark, close to the Tirana Prosecutor's Office and very near his own apartment. He had just emerged from his home, accompanied by his wife, when an unknown person emerged from a group of three that had taken up positions, and struck the deputy above the left eyebrow with a set of brass knuckles, causing three wounds with the weapon's three studs on the knuckles. Neither the deputy nor his terrified wife managed to learn anything about the three assailants, who ran away without a word, perhaps so as not to reveal their dialect.

The guards at the Tirana Prosecutor's Office and Deputy Prosecutor Fatos Dervusgu administered first aid to the deputy, who was sent to hospital, where he received the necessary treatment.

This shameful act against a deputy and a journalist represents an extremely dangerous escalation of this unprecedented violence against journalists.

One week ago, the Ton-Ton Macoutes of Shkoder delivered an almost fatal blow with an iron bar to Gjergj Zefi, deputy chairman of the Democratic Alliance's Assembly and an ALEANCA journalist, solely because he had denounced sections of the Shkoder mafia, those very same groups that are growing rich from smuggling oil and who were denounced the evening before last by Appeal Court Judge Zef Brozi.

Gjergj Zefi had not left his sick-bed before the forces of darkness planned another assault against editor in chief Keko. It seems that these forces that are today trying to strangle the country see it as more appropriate to settle accounts with ALEANCA with iron bars and brass knuckles. Otherwise, how can one explain that Keko was struck after taking over ALEANCA's editorial desk? He has immunity as a People's Assembly deputy. Any prosecution raised against him would involve contriving a case, assembling parliament in order to remove his immunity, and risking criticism from Europe and abroad, in other words, a long and dangerous road. In such cases, there are ways to accelerate the process. Hooligans, whether paid or unpaid, attack the journalist and deputy, and this achieves the same purpose.

In any case, even if common criminals who do not read newspapers did not receive orders to assault the journalist, their ominous daring has been inspired by the aggression of the state itself against the free press. Under such circumstances, we are faced with serious attempts at political assassination, in other words terrorism. Responsibility for these incidents, and others that will occur, fall squarely on the shoulders of the present government and the bodies of justice that are not taking a single step to protect journalists.

The ALEANCA staff issued a strong protest against the violence of the night-time streets and the fascist-style forms of revenge on opposition journalists. We appeal for the support of all our readers, citizens, policemen, prosecutors, and judges. It is not only Gjergj Zefi and Teodor Keko that have been assaulted today. The bars and brass knuckles struck their faces, but the blows were suffered by freedom of the press in Albania, without which a free and democratic society is unimaginable.

Democratic Alliance Issues Protest

AU1403105794 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 12 Mar 94 p 1

[Statement by Democratic Alliance issued in Tirana on 11 March: "Continuing Violence Against the Democratic Alliance Will Not Yield Results"]

[Text] At about 2000 on Thursday [10 March], several unknown persons assaulted Deputy Teodor Keko, member of the Democratic Alliance [AD] Presidency, editor in chief of ALEANCA, journalist, and writer. This incident is part of a long line of oppressive measures that the present government has undertaken against the political opposition and the independent and opposition press. For the AD in particular, this criminal act comes after the murder of Gjovalin Cekini, after the shameful organization of a defense for his murderers, after the assault on deputy editor in chief Gjergj Zefi, after dozens of incidents prepared in the offices of the ruling Democratic Party against the AD's work, and after attacks, insults, and slanders against the party's leaders. This latest activity of the Albanian Ton-Ton macoutes neither surprises us nor weakens us. As we have declared, the AD's members are ready to give their lives to establish democracy in Albania. They will die as Cekini did, if this is the price required, but they will never fall silent and they will continue to loudly denounce the police state that has been created in Albania. The AD does not protest against the state and asks for nothing from it, but issues a strong warning that the last stop on the road of crime is prison.

Statement by Chairman Ceka

AU1403105994 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 12 Mar 94 p 1

[Statement by Democratic Alliance Chairman Neritan Ceka, issued in Tirana on 11 March: "Criminals Hold the Real Power in This Country"]

[Text] The ugly crime against the deputy and editor in chief, Teodor Keko, was clearly of a political nature. It marks a further escalation of the strategy of violence against the Democratic Alliance [AD] and free speech that began in Shkoder with the murder of Gjovalin Cekini and the assault on Gjergj Zefi, and continued in Tirana with the arrest and persecution of journalists.

There is no doubt that the hand that struck Teodor Keko was one of those criminal hands that raised a toast in the tourist hotel in Shkoder with the odd Democratic Party leader. For us, this represents a caveman's reaction to the letter from the Cekini family published in ALEANCA two days ago.

An assault on a deputy in the middle of the street, in the presence of his own wife, shows that criminals hold the real power in this country.

As chairman of the second-largest opposition party, an intellectual, and a citizen, I demand a public statement by the president, the prime minister, and the Public Order Ministry concerning guarantees that they give for the normal conduct of political life in Albania. The opposition is here to ensure a democratic order, not to create a pretty facade for foreign delegations, behind which a corrupt and criminal state can operate.

Silence would be a disgrace, if not an incrimination, for any civilized politican.

Swiss Branch of PDP To Meet Unpaid Debt

AU1303205694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] The Presidency of the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] branch in Switzerland reports that in a meeting in Zurich on 12 March, the presidency decided that this party branch will meet a part of the unpaid obligation of the Albanian population in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia concerning the investments for the satellite program project.

This branch will ensure a sum of 300,000 Swiss francs until 1 May 1994. The money will be deposited in the account of the satellite program of the Albanian Radio-Television.

Berov Stable After Heart Surgery

AU1103180594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] The Council of Ministers Press Center has announced that according to information supplied by the medical team treating Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, the team made an extended visit to their patient at about 1800 hours this afternoon, with the surgeons Prof. Levi and Docent Mishev also in attendance.

After a five-hour operation, the prime minister is in a stable condition. It was established that all internal organs were operating normally and that the patient's blood pressure was also normal.

Videnov Satisfied With BSP Plenum Debate

AU1303175994 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] An expanded plenum of the Supreme Council and parliamentary faction of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] took place in Sofia today. The participants discussed the draft program of the forthcoming 41st BSP Congress. This is how BSP leader Zhan Videnov assessed today's plenum:

[Begin Videnov recording] I am very satisfied with the results of today's open and expanded plenum. The party obviously has a good potential that allows it to generate ideas of a really profound and programmatic essence and discuss them in a calm and civilized manner. I hope that when the drafts, which have already been prepared, are soon published, this style of debate will be transferred to the entire party and society. We are prepared to calmly discuss the results of this plenum at the congress. [end recording]

The Alliance for Social Democracy was the only faction within the BSP that presented its own draft program for the forthcoming congress. Chavdar Kyuranov, chairman of the Alliance for Social Democracy, assessed today's plenum in the following manner.:

[Begin Kyuranov recording] Something very important took place at today's plenum. The plenum steered itself toward adopting a very democratic decision—to form a commission that will work on the draft programs and produce a uniform proposal for the program. This decision differs from previous decisions on the same matter. As far as our program is concerned, I have a technical explanation. We were able to submit our draft rather late. It was disseminated only this morning, so we could not ask the plenum participants to express their opinions on our draft program. [end recording]

Khan Kubrat Anchors Near Vidin; Crew Detained

AU1303183194 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] The Bulgarian vessel Khan Kubrat has anchored at the 793-km point near Vidin with empty tanks. There were 21 people on board—the crew and a woman, and they have all been detained at the regional Internal Affairs Ministry Directorate. The captain of the vessel is Konstantin Stoyanov, 49, from Ruse.

REUTER disseminated a photograph accompanied by a text that recalls the history of the vessel's strange trip. This means that tomorrow Bulgaria's name will be on the front page of every major newspapers in the world. The UN Security Council will also discuss the incident.

Meanwhile, the State River Sailing Inspectorate in Vidin has refused to issue a statement for the radio. It was pointed out from the Vidin Inspectorate that they are subordinate to the Lom Inspectorate, and the chairman of the Lom Inspectorate will have a statement for the public tomorrow.

Crew Questioned

AU1403124894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1200 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] At the Vidin Regional Directorate of Internal Affairs, investigators of the National Investigation Service are now questioning the 21 persons found on board the ship Khan Kubrat and held under arrest. An official source from the Vidin police announced this at a news conference today. Following questioning, 18 of the 21 persons were released. The three remaining in custody for further questioning are the ship's captain Kostadin Stoyanov, 39, from Ruse; the captain's first mate, Atanas Denchev, also from Ruse; and the engineer, Dimitur Krumov.

The only woman found on board was the wife of one of the members of the crew and holds a seaman's passport. Nikolay Dechev, chief of the Vidin police, announced at the news conference. In my personal opinion, the story of the hijacking of the Khan Kubrat by armed persons is a put-on, he added. The regional police chief said that the entire operation of detaining the vessel at 1500 on 13 March was carried out superbly and that the organization had worked perfectly.

The National Investigation Service opened an investigation into the case on 8 March, and its investigations will extend to several regions: Vidin, Pleven, Blagoevgrad, and Ruse. Nikolay Dechev believes that the investigation into the Khan Kubrat incident will be concluded fairly soon.

Return of Tug Demanded

AU1103205794 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] A statement issued by the Foreign Minister expresses serious concern regarding the continuing incident with the Bulgarian vessel the Khan Kubrat. Despite the initial promises of assistance made by the responsible Serbian bodies and their assurances that the vessel and its cargo were under control, the fuel cargo is being discharged from the Khan Kubrat barge train.

The Foreign Ministry insists that the unloading operation should be stopped immediately and the ship returned to Bulgaria together with its cargo and crew.

The commander of a military patrol launch belonging to the Western European Union has reported to the State Navigation Inspectorate in Vidin that at about 2200 hours [2000 GMT] this evening the Khan Kubrat vessel is expected to arrive in the port of Vidin together with its crew. The monitoring bodies have made arrangements for the reception of the vessel.

Dimitrov Receives Delegation of FRY Bulgarians

AU1403163694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] On 14 March Mr. Filip Dimitrov received a delegation of the Democratic Union of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia led by Ivan Grigorov, chairman of the Union.

During the meeting, which was attended by Asparukh Panov, deputy chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] on foreign policy issues, the guests imparted information related to the crude violation of the rights of the Bulgarian minority in the spheres of religion, education, use of their native tongue, and preserving cultural and historical heritage. Alarm was expressed over the attempts to ban the Democratic Union of Bulgarians in Yugoslavia, officially forcing the Bulgarians to adopt Serbian names and disseminating the thesis of the existence of a Serbian-Shop [Bulgarian Sofia region peasant] nation.

The possibilities of rendering practical help on the part of the SDS in the sphere of training pupils, students, and graduate students were discussed. The SDS committed itself to defending the rights of the Bulgarians in Yugoslavia in accordance with the international documents.

The Democratic Union of the Bulgarian in Yugoslavia invited an official SDS delegation to visit the regions of Bosilegrad and Tsaribrod in the near future.

Luxembourg's Poos Arrives To Discuss Relations

AU1303184794 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] At the invitation of Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov, Jacques Poos, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, arrived in Bulgaria today. This is how he summarized his intentions for tomorrow's talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Council of Ministers, and the National Assembly:

[Begin Poos recording, in French fading into Bulgarian translation] This is a working visit related to our bilateral relations. However, I have also come to Bulgaria in my capacity as acting chairman of the Western European Union. We will also discuss issues of European security. In response to our question whether the issue of violating the embargo along the Danube River will be discussed, Mr. Poos said that this is not the basic goal of his visit, but the issue will be discussed anyway. Nevertheless, we do not consider Bulgaria responsible for the recent incidents, he stressed.

The guest said that at the last meeting of the Western European Union in Luxembourg on the ministerial level, it was decided to grant Bulgaria an enhanced status, which will practically make it an associated member of the Western European Union.

Mr. Poos will also be received by President Zhelyu Zhelev tomorrow.

Meets With Zhelev

AU1403181694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] The Western European Union does not consider Bulgaria guilty of the incident with the Khan Kubrat vessel, Jacques Poos, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, said during his conversation with President Zhelyu Zhelev.

Valentin Stoyanov, spokesman for the president, informed the journalists that, during the talks, the situation in the Balkans was discussed, and more specifically, the situation in former Yugoslavia.

The Bulgarian head of state again confirmed our steady position regarding the observance of the embargo and declared that an incident such as the one with the Khan Kubrat vessel is not something strange against the background of the situation that exists at present in the Balkans.

We suffer not only because of the economic losses related to the embargo, but also because of the emergence of such forces, which act in a provocative manner against Bulgaria's interests, the president said.

Prior to his departure Mr. Poos gave a news conference, at which he summarized the results of his meetings with President Zhelev, Deputy Prime Ministers Evgeni Matinchev and Valentin Karabashev, and Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov.

[Begin Poos recording in French fading into Bulgarian translation read by the announcer] This was a bilateral visit, but it immediately engulfed all European subjects, which were invoked in all the talks. We witnessed Bulgaria's ambition to most rapidly join the European structures, which was evident in all the talks I had here. I have the opinion that the steps related to ratifying the trade agreement with the European Union and the reform in your legislature, that already began, will facilitate this process, Mr. Poos said. He stressed that the protocol on the agreement to exchange the ratification documents, that was signed at the Foreign Ministry, will give an impetus to developing bilateral relations between Bulgaria and Luxembourg.

Minister Dismisses Organizer of Officers' Petition

AU1103165094 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Mar 94 p 1

["Announcement by Defense Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] With regard to the petition organized at the end of February this year by the chairmen of the clubs and coordinators of the Rakovski Bulgarian Officers Legion (Rakovski BOL) in Khaskovo and the appeal addressed by them to the commissioned and noncommissioned officers of the Bulgarian Army, the defense minister and the Bulgarian Army chief of staff have issued a relevant order.

The order states that, by their actions, the officers in question violated the Bulgarian Armed Forces statutes, the Rakovski BOL Statute, and the Basic Premises for Mutual Relations Between the Defense Ministry and the Rakovski BOL. It is pointed out that Captain Second Rank Vasil Denov, acting independently and without the knowledge of his colleagues in the legion's Confederative Council and speaking through the mass media, took it upon himself to compare the appeal by the officers in Khaskovo to "the Bloody Letter" [letter written in blood announcing the 1876 April Uprising against the Turks]. By doing this, quite apart from committing a grave disciplinary offense, he caused additional tension among the public and indirectly issued a provocative call for appropriate action.

For committing these disciplinary offenses and with a view to forestalling actions by Bulgarian Army commissioned and noncommissioned officers in the future that contravene the legally based and statutory order established in the Army, Captain Second Rank Vasil Denov is dismissed on disciplinary grounds and various punishments are imposed on the other officers that signed the appeal and the petition.

Cabinet on 'Solid Ground' After Budget Vote

AU1103174994 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 2 Mar 94 p 12

[Commentary by Evgeni Gavrilov: "Berov Stepped on Firm Ground"]

[Text] The statement of Prime Minister Lyuben Berov to the mass media on 1 March in effect showed that the government views the 1994 budget, which was adopted late on 28 February, as the most important vote of confidence that it has received in just over a year. Unfortunately, the budget was adopted at the last minute, under pressure, in a typical Bulgarian manner. Pressed by the time limit posed by the international financial institutions as a precondition of allocating to Bulgaria the still illusionary $1 billion, the deputies and ministers had no choice but to dispose quickly of the matter of adopting the budget, which is the most important law of any normal state.

Generally, the government received the parameters of the macroeconomic budget framework that it demanded. However, it is clear to all that this framework is unrealistic and unfeasible. Everyone knows that the emperor is naked, but no one dares to admit this publicly. The dollar rate, which was artificially kept within decent limits, immediately reached 40 leva on the real market. The budget's income and expenditure are calculated on the basis of a $1/35 leva rate. There is hardly one normal Bulgarian citizen who believes in the inflation of 45 percent promised by the end of the year and a basic interest rate of 30 percent. After all, every week there is another official price increase—electricity, heating, postal services, and so forth. The citizens, subjected to the price racket of the official and unofficial government, do not appear to have any choice.

The 1994 budget contains more restrictions than the budgets of the last four years. Three governments have publicly announced that they will serve in the name of the reform, but they have all limited themselves to the monetary part of the reform proposed by (former Finance Minister) Ivan Kostov. Otherwise, in his statement, Prime Minister Berov did not say anything new regarding supporting private and state business, and socially supporting the poor, whose number continues to grow. He did not make any promises. Basically, the present cabinet can afford this. It stands on relatively solid ground that materialized under its feet with the adoption of the budget, regardless of how impossible it will be to implement.

Turkish Population Decreases as Exodus Continues

NC1203121894 Ankara TURKISH DAILY NEWS in English 9 Mar 94 p 3

[Text] Ankara—The ethnic Turkish population in Bulgaria has decreased during the last three years because of the exodus to Turkey, the ANATOLIA NEWS AGENCY reported on Tuesday. According to official statistics, 250,000 people have moved into Turkey over this period.

The exodus has been particularly severe in Southern Bulgaria and in the town of Kircali 50 percent of the population have left for Turkey.

The immigrants mostly enter Turkey on tourist visas although some cross the border illegally. The Bulgaria Rights and Freedoms movement representative in Kircali, Talat Coban, said that if the present trend continues the Turkish presence in Bulgaria would soon disappear. Mustafa Omer, mayor of the town of Kosukavak, stated on Tuesday that 50 Turkish villages in the region were now almost empty and added, "There are only a few old people remaining and even they are only waiting for a signal from their relatives in Turkey to leave the villages."

Turkish Minister Consults on Reduced Russian Gas

AU1203170794 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] The reduction in deliveries of Russian natural gas to Turkey along the pipeline through Ukraine, Romania, and Bulgaria was the reason for an unexpected visit to Sofia today by Veysel Atasoy, Turkish minister of energy and natural resources.

At a meeting with Nikita Shervashidze, chairman of the Bulgarian Committee on Power Supplies, they discussed the situation and adopted a decision that Mr. Shervashidze will now explain to us:

[Begin Shervashidze recording] Mr. Atasoy told me that Russia has declared that it is delivering the contracted amounts of gas to the Ukrainian border, and I have no reason not to believe this. He said that the amounts of gas delivered have to be divided between Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria, and—the fact is that, according to Mr. Atasoy, no gas is arriving at the border with Turkey, the last consumer in the line. There is no reason for me not to believe this. [words indistinct]

The simple fact is that if the amount of gas delivered is reduced and the gas pressure falls to a point that we are able to monitor, a switching valve automatically comes into operation that reduces the amount of gas sent on to Bulgaria or to Turkey. However, owing to the peculiarities of the system, Turkey gets a larger share of the gas than Bulgaria does. As we assured our Turkish colleagues—and we also wrote to them to avoid being accused of not fulfilling our promises—that we will take measures, including restrictions, I regret to say, to ensure that we each get a fair share of the gas and that we divide the available gas like good neighbors. [end recording]

With a view to dividing the quantities of natural gas arriving more fairly between Bulgaria and Turkey, Bulgaria will take technical measures. Our country is already restricting the consumption of natural gas by enterprises in the chemical industry. Because of force majeure conditions, as Nikita Shervashidze described them, we will suffer losses that are not our fault.

Ministry, Army Leaders on Budgetary Problems

AU1103175194 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Mar 94 p 1

["Announcement by Defense Ministry Press Center"]

[Text] On 1 and 2 March the Defense Ministry leadership held working meetings with commanders and officers of the 1st, 2d, and 3d Armies.

These meetings discussed a wide range of problems stemming from the need to continue the reform in the Armed Forces following the adoption of the budget. In a special session, the leaderships of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff made a comprehensive analysis of the issues raised by servicemen during the above meetings. The most severe problems are finding rented living accommodation for officers on the free market, and the prospects as regards pay and housing policy. This issue of improved everyday conditions for the soldiers also awaits a solution. Particular attention was paid to the need to speed up structural reform in the Armed Forces.

The Defense Ministry leadership expressed the conviction that the defining of clear prospects for the Army in the future is of decisive importance as regards motivating the personnel and increasing the combat readiness of the Armed Forces.

Notwithstanding the limited budget possibilities, the minister of defense has ordered proposals to be prepared on solving the most pressing problems.

The session also examined offenses committed by certain servicemen against the military statutes and army discipline.

Rakovski Legion Criticizes Budget Decision

AU1103175994 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 8 Mar 94 p 10

[Interview with Major Rusi Gochev, leader of the Rakovski Bulgarian Officers Legion, by Nikolay Grudev; place and date not given: "Rusi Gochev: Defense Ministry Invented Officers' Putsch"]

[Text] [Grudev] Major Gochev, has the officers' legion's putsch ended?

[Gochev] I think that the conflict was invented in and staged by the Ministry of Defense. The scandal was prompted by collecting signatures for our petition. It started at the Khaskovo Garrison. However, our petition did not attack the ministry or the government. It was intended for parliament and invoked not only the budget, but also the Law on the Defense and Armed Forces.

[Grudev] However, the Army budget was adopted and the 37 billion leva requested by the legion was not allocated....

[Gochev] It is mere rumor that we requested 37 billion leva. The almost 13 billion that were allocated is the defense minister's problem. Parliament has in effect refused to assume responsibility for the situation in the Armed Forces and for the defense of the state. The buck was passed to the Ministry of Defense and not without the help of the new members of the minister's cabinet.

[Grudev] Whom do you have in mind?

[Gochev] Deputy Minister Boyko Noev.

[Grudev] What responsibility do you mean?

[Gochev] According to the existing law the Armed Forces' payroll is determined by the Council of Ministers following the proposal of the Defense Ministry. Now I

understand why the parliament was not in a hurry to adopt the new Law on Defense. According to the draft law it is the National Assembly that should determine the size of the Army. This awkward issue was transferred to the executive.

[Grudev] The legion has been accused of requesting higher wages for the officers through a higher budget.

[Gochev] In our petition we do not mention at all any request for higher wages. However, a bigger budget would facilitate the improvement of the Bulgarian military's social situation. Nevertheless, this is not the most important issue.

We demand kerosene so that our aircraft can fly and continue their training. We demand money for properly functioning equipment and for improving the Army's combat ability.

[Grudev] Who is interested in this?

[Gochev] Obviously, there are political forces interested in the future development of the Armed Forces. The experts know the price of preserving the army and they have expressed their opinion. Perhaps this irritated many people.

Now Deputy Defense Minister Boyko Noev has said several times that Bulgaria does not need an army of more than 55,000 soldiers. This is absurd. Against the background of this position I do not know whether this is precisely what the new budget was aiming at. I do not know whose policy this is. However, those who adhere to it should publicly explain their position. The defense minister should ask his deputy, Noev, what and whose this policy is.

[Grudev] What do you intend to do with your petition? How many signatures have you collected?

[Gochev] Before the holidays it had been signed by 3,200 officers and sergeants. We have stopped counting. Now we expect the penalties. The accusations of planning a putsch have evaporated. Now we will ask those who accused us to apologize publicly.

[Grudev] Will the petition be handed to parliament as you promised?

[Gochev] This is absurd in the existing situation. Those who signed the petition signed it with their three names, their military serial number, and the unit in which they serve. We cannot be sure that someone will not decide to begin the "reform" by dismissing those who have signed the petition. So we will only announce the final number of those who have signed the petition.

[Grudev] How will the legion act if there are cuts in the Army?

[Gochev] In any event, we will insist that those who will be dismissed from the Armed Forces for various reasons will be granted all forms of security provided in law. We have already heard that instead of the financial compensation that they are entitled to, they will receive securities. The officers are already calling these "pieces of paper." This would be the ultimate mockery of the Army.

Havel on Meciar's Vote of No Confidence

LD1303110694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Excerpt] In today's "Conversation from Lany" to be broadcast on the Czech radio at 1315 GMT, President Vaclav Havel returns to the vote of no confidence in [Slovak] Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's government.

[Havel] It seems to be the culmination of a crisis that has lasted on the Slovak political scene for some time now. It is difficult to know how it will develop. However, it is probable that early elections will take place, and, until then, it is hoped that some kind of less conspicuous but efficient government will be formed rather soon, which I imagine will be a semicaretaker government, one that would bridge the period and contribute to calming down the situation. It is in the interest of both the Slovak citizens and all of us who are not indifferent to developments in Slovakia. [end recording] [passage omitted]

'We Cannot Be Indifferent to SR Events'

LD1103212394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2000 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] President Vaclav Havel talked to Czech Radio about the situation in Slovakia.

[Begin Havel recording] I do not agree with the view that what is happening now in Slovakia is of no concern to us. It does concern us very much. We cannot be indifferent if, in a neighboring state, which at the same time is so close to us, which is so firmly bound to us by innumerable threads, there is order or chaos, whether democracy is winning there or an authoritarian rule predominates. We cannot be indifferent to this. Therefore, I observe very tensely the developments there. [end recording]

Comments on Slovak Developments, Europe Visit

LD1303170394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Regular weekly interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by station editor Eva Hulkova; "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Hulkova] Mr. President, the fact that the National Council of the Slovak Republic passed the vote of no confidence in Premier Meciar's government is undoubtedly event number-one. In a way, I would say that this is the development of paramount importance in Slovakia's recent history.

[Havel] It seems to be the culmination of a crisis that has been continuing on the Slovak political scene for some time now. It is difficult to know how it will develop. However, it is probable that early elections will take place, and, until then, it is to be hoped that some kind of lower profile but efficient government should be formed rather soon. I imagine this would be a semicaretaker government, one that would span the transitional period and contribute to calming the situation. This is in the interest of the Slovak citizens as well as of all of us who are not indifferent to developments in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

On the whole, let us hope that the situation in Slovakia will stabilize after the elections, which are evidently going to go ahead. Let us hope it will calm down and that Slovakia will embark on a true path of building a democratic political system and market economy. [passage omitted]

[Hulkova] Mr. President, I always thought that Slovak President Michal Kovac was unlikely to make a strong imprint on his country's history. But now I feel that his moment has come. After all, it is he who controls a lot of things.

[Havel] It should be said that I personally began to respect President Kovac because we often met and discussed in a very businesslike and frank manner various issues of interest. It should be said that President Kovac has developed into an outstanding and independent politician who acted when he felt it was his duty to act. What he did was very courageous and risky. What he did was not commonplace. No matter what the given constitutional system is, it is not usual that the head of state should enter into such open confrontation with the prime minister or the government.

Nevertheless, Mr. President Kovac probably knew what he was doing, and he knew why he was doing it.

[Hulkova] I have always been under the impression that speculation about further developments in Slovakia is at this time evidently premature. However, I would like to ask one question: Do you think that whatever happens next will be less clear than what happened in the past? Although we often disagreed with these developments, we knew what was taking place.

[Havel] It is true that Prime Minister Meciar, whom I know very well from the time of the [Czechoslovak] federation, is a very self-styled, original person with a special method of ruling. It is true to say that, if a modus vivendi or a contact is established with him, he is a politician who can be to a certain extent understood. Having said that, I do not claim he is the best possible politician. It is possible that the situation will become less transparent now because several new political groupings have been formed. The political stage became fragmented in a certain way. [passage omitted]

Much will depend on whether these new parties will manage to unite before the elections and create some kind of a wider formation with a clear policy or whether they will fight each other. Policy fragmentation is a great misfortune in political life.

[Hulkova] And one final question on Slovakia: In your opinion, is a third comeback of Vladimir Meciar possible?

[Havel] I would not like to make any prognosis in this matter. Really, I do not know, but anything is possible in these fledgling democracies.

[Hulkova] Mr. President, let us now recall your trip to the Vatican and Strasbourg at the beginning of this week. Deputy Foreign Minister Bratinka said it could not have been more successful. I would like to hear your personal view, if you care tell me, of the impressions you had.

[Havel] I find it difficult to answer this question, but, because you have asked, I have no choice but to say that in my view it was successful. I thought the second leg of the trip, the Strasbourg one, was particularly successful. [passage omitted]

As for my trip to the Vatican, my hour-long conversation with the pope was, as usual, very valuable for me because I have good rapport with the pope. The pope radiates a special sort of kindness and understanding, and one draws strength from this kind of conversation. But this would be a small reason for my going on a state visit there. The main thing is that the visit boosts our good relations with the Vatican. [passage omitted]

[Hulkova] Mr. President, you have already mentioned how much you valued the outcome of the Strasbourg leg of your trip. I would like to know whether you were at all worried about the reception of some passages of your speech by the deputies of the European Parliament?

[Havel] I was completely surprised at how favorable the reception of my address was. Afterwards, during various discussions and chats with deputies, including the gala lunch and so on, many chairmen or vice chairmen of the individual groups or committees told me that they were so swamped by the everyday technical and administrative duties they had to tackle that a certain overview and awarness of a deeper meaning of European integration and European union escaped them. They said they were very grateful to me for voicing this and for bringing up these points. They told me directly that they needed it. This pleased me, of course. [passage omitted]

Klaus Speaks of Dismissal of Meciar Government

LD1103180994 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus spoke to Czech Radio about the dismissal of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar:

It is in the interest of the Czech Republic that Slovakia is a stable, prospering state, and for this it needs a government that enjoys the trust of the Slovak public. The Czech Government also needs a partner. This is why we hope that the Slovak Government crisis is quickly over. I would like to thank Prime Minister Meciar and the outgoing Slovak Cabinet for their correct attitude with regard to Czech-Slovak relations and, above all, for our joint patient search for constructive solutions in the tense moments when our common state was splitting.

Denies Idea of Planned Attack on Slovakia

LD1103220394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2000 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus reacted to today's speech by [Slovak Prime Minister] Vladimir Meciar and observed that he was not present at his talks with Karel Pezl, [former] chief of the Czechoslovak Army General Staff, which reportedly took place during the meeting of the Council for State Defense on 28 September 1992. Klaus declined to comment on the absurd idea of a plan for a military attack against Slovakia and declared that he did not hold any talks with Meciar on this subject.

Ruml: Meciar's Dismissal Positive Development

LD1203113094 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0600 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] Jan Ruml, Czech minister of the interior has returned from his working visit to France. Jiri Bohacek asked him what he thought about the dismissal of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

[Begin recording] [Ruml] Of late, we have in a way been expecting his dismissal. There is one thing I would agree with, which is that we need a strong government in Slovakia. It does not matter who represents this government. In this case, it was Meciar, whose government has been useful for the Czech Republic because any destabilization would put our market in Slovakia in jeopardy. Naturally, we need a stabilized partner in the East. Nevertheless, speaking from the future's point of view, I think that Meciar himself and all of his policies were departing from being focused on economic reforms and democratization. Speaking as a person who has been following the Slovak scene for some time, in the long term I regard this as a positive development.

[Bohacek] Minister, do you think that the dismissal of Slovak Prime Minister will be manifested in the problems related to the marking of the borders with the Slovak Republic?

[Ruml] It will, definitely. The main thing will be that the whole task will become more complicated and might even be stopped because territorial problems and border-related issues are political problems of extreme sensitivity, especially if they are made to be sensitive. Thus, in this situation, which has come to a head in Slovakia, I cannot imagine that we would discuss tiny areas of either Czech or Slovak territory. I think it will delay the work a little, but no dramatic changes are likely. We will wait and see what the next Slovak Government will be like, and we will set the negotiating process accordingly. [end recording]

Meciar Dismissal Thought Not To Affect Relations

LD1203114094 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0900 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Bratinka has given to the Czech Radio his statement on the dismissal of Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

[Begin Bratinka recording] It is a decision of a freely elected parliament of a sovereign state and, as such, we must respect it, of course.

Right from the time of the rise of the two states that replaced the former Czechoslovakia, the Czech Republic pursued an entirely, almost scrupulously, correct policy vis-a-vis Slovakia. Relations between the two states have been very good, although certain problems in the sphere of trade appeared of late. There is no reason to think that the replacement of the prime minister could have a negative impact on mutual relations. [end recording]

Zieleniec Views Relations With Slovakia

AU1403124494 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Mar 94 pp 1, 12

[Interview with Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Alena Borovickova; place and date not given: "Our Relations Are Special"]

[Text] Relations between the Czech Republic and Slovakia and the fundamental aspects of the Czech Republic's foreign policy were the main topics discussed in an interview granted to PRAVDA by Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec.

[Borovickova] It was often emphasized during the breakup of Czechoslovakia that very close, sui generis very special, relations will continue to exist between the Czech and Slovak Republics. This certainly applies in relations between people, but not at the government level. Can it be said that our relations are closer in some things—or different—from what they are with the Czech Republic's other neighbors?

[Zieleniec] I would even say that our relations are very close and special. I do not believe that this applies only to people and not to the governments. Not only relations between the individual ministries, but also between their individual employees are routine, something that, after all, is not typical in foreign political relations—for example, in our relations with Poland and Hungary. I am not even talking about more distant countries. Almost all communication between governments is held via the foreign service. This is not the case in our relations. The intensity of the links between the two countries in the economic, legal, social insurance, health insurance spheres, and so forth is unique. In essence, it is possible to say that we have succeeded in maintaining for the long-term the things that, following the breakup of the state, were special and very important for the practical lives of our citizens: Their status with regard to the citizens of the other state, employment opportunities, and the possibility of unrestricted movement. You can cross our common border, although we have technical problems with it, wherever and whenever you like, even in a forest. It would be difficult to find something like this anywhere else in Europe. However, because our relations are so remarkable and close, there are also problems.

[Borovickova] Is there any coordination of stances on major international issues between the Czech and Slovak Foreign Ministries? For example, you have the Sudeten Germans and we have the Carpathians....

[Zieleniec] The kind of coordination you are talking about is engendered because we have a common interest in many areas. Our national interests and the national interests of Slovakia logically coincide. We lived for a long time in a common state and we inherited many commitments. Our nations are close to each other, and they feel an affinity and affection for each other. All of this is projected into what is called state or national interests. It is of fundamental interest to the Czech Republic that Slovakia is democratic and prosperous and that it has the same foreign policy orientation as the Czech Republic. That is, an orientation toward Western Europe. This is also prompted by simple geopolitical reasons. It is good to have friends for neighbors.

[Borovickova] Do you believe in the existence of spheres of influence in present-day Europe?

[Zieleniec] Not only do I believe this, but I am convinced that, as it was for centuries, so will it be in the future. Europe—Central Europe, in which we live—is the object of the power-wielding interests of various states and powers. This is something that we have been very well aware of in the past 45 years. This is something that we know we will have to face in the future. The issue, however, lies in ensuring that we orient our state in the long term toward political cooperation with those countries with whom we have a similar scale of values and with whom we share the same way of life. This is a matter that, in this context, is very important; and, for us, this is indubitably Western Europe.

[Borovickova] In this context, what is your view of Russia?

[Zieleniec] Russia is a large country, a power, even a superpower. It is a country that has played and will continue to play a very important role in the history of Europe and the world. It is important for us that it succeeds in becoming stabilized and that a parliamentary democracy, a market economy, and an efficient economy is asserted there; this is also a prerequisite for political stability in this huge country. Incidentally, this is not only what we want; it is also what the Russian democrats want.

[Borovickova] What is your assessment of Czech-Austrian relations in view of the completion of "undesirable" Temelin?

[Zieleniec] This is a time-sensitive issue. Discussions are under way on more finance for it. This is also an issue of some significance on the Austrian domestic political scene. Elections are coming up. I do not think this issue can have a long-term influence on Czech-Austrian relations, which are very good. We have historical ties to Austria, there are ties between our people, and I believe that not only Austrian politicians, but also Austrian citizens are aware of this.

[Borovickova] Do you know how many of the staff in your ministry are Slovak nationals?

[Zieleniec] We place no emphasis on nationality. We have an unequivocal criterion—citizenship. Naturally, it is a condition that we employ only Czech citizens in our diplomatic services.

[Borovickova] So, Slovak nationality plays no role even in the decisionmaking on appointments to senior posts?

[Zieleniec] Take a look around the ministry and you will see that we pay no attention to this.

[Borovickova] Since we are talking about nationality, you are of Polish origin, your deputy, Mr. Bratinka, is of Slovak origin, and it is rumored that Mr. Vondra is of Hungarian origin and was called Csapo. Is this true?

[Zieleniec] I do not know. I acknowledge my Polish origin. Whether Mr. Bratinka derives his origin from the fact that he was born in Slovakia, I do not know. As far as Mr. Vondra is concerned, I simply do not know. You see, we do not bother about this....

[Borovickova] How do you feel as foreign minister in a state where, apart from yourself, foreign policy is also "formulated" by the Office of the President of the Republic, the chairman of the parliamentary Foreign Committee, the prime minister, and recently also the defense minister, while not all of them always agree with one other? Do you manage to sleep peacefully?

[Zieleniec] I have been sleeping peacefully since childhood. If you look at our Constitution, you will see that there are many constitutional officials in the Czech Republic who have authority in foreign policy. We are not an exception, however. It is the same elsewhere. The authority is different, but it exists. Therefore, foreign policy is the result of cooperation among these officials. The problem is in coordinating these issues, in preventing aberrations. This is my job; at least, this is what I am trying to do. It does not always succeed, but I think some progress is being made here. We meet regularly with those constitutional officials you mentioned, and we discuss key foreign policy issues. If you look at Germany, Austria, or the United States, there are also more constitutional officials active in foreign policy there. Their opinions are not unanimous. Each one emphasizes a slightly different point of view, depending on his constitutional function. If there were only one opinion, it would be like it was under communism. People now have the opportunity to look a little deeper into the process of the evolution of political opinion. By the way, even in Slovakia this opinion is not unanimous.

[Borovickova] There is currently a great deal of discussion about the Walderode case. Mr. Bratinka recommended to the Interior Ministry some time ago the names of several individuals who are "worthy of special consideration" from the point of view of speeding up the process of granting them Czech citizenship. Was this preceded by discussions at your ministry, or was this his own initiative?

[Zieleniec] First of all, Mr. Bratinka did not recommend Mr. Walderode to anyone. He did write a letter to the Interior Ministry containing several names, but Walderode was not one of them. When he wrote this letter, Mr. Bratinka was entrusted with running the section whose authority also included expressing an opinion on domestic political issues from the foreign policy point of view. It is necessary to view his recommendation within the framework of the normal procedure between individual state administration bodies in the Czech Republic. The Agriculture Ministry expresses an opinion from its point of view, the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs from the point of view of its jurisdiction, and the Foreign Ministry from its point of view. The final decision fell to the Interior Ministry, and it made it. I think that the whole case has been blown out of proportion, especially the attestation that Deputy Bratinka provided.

[Borovickova] These "aristocratic" cases are juxtaposed in the Czech media with the Volhynian Czechs. What is your opinion?

[Zieleniec] I do not view this as an extraordinary course of action. I think we have to view this as a normal civil procedure, regardless of whether someone has a name that was once aristocratic. According to the law in our country, the use of aristocratic titles is prohibited, and everyone is equal before the law, whether he is the descendant of a famous aristocratic family or a Volhynian Czech. The problem is something else. It is associated especially with property restitution, and this concerns the former group of people. The issue of the Volhynian Czechs involves mass citizenship, and I, as a citizen, am of the opinion that, because we are a civic state, these issues should be resolved individually. It is necessary to view each applicant as a potential citizen of this state.

[Borovickova] How did Moscow crop up in your curriculum vitae?

[Zieleniec] I was born there because, at that time, my parents were working in Moscow. I was there for three months.

[Borovickova] You are going to Bratislava on Friday [11 March]. What will you do there inasmuch as you do not have a counterpart?

[Zieleniec] I am going privately at the invitation of the Slovak Foreign Policy Association.

[Borovickova] Can you tell us anything more about this?

[Zieleniec] I will deliver a lecture on the Czech Republic's foreign policy. This is not an official visit. I do not have any extraordinary meetings planned.

Official on Problems of New DEU Party

AU1403105494 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 7 Mar 94 p 3

[Interview with Milan Hulik, a member of the Democratic Union (DEU) preparatory committee, by Pavel Verner; place and date not given: "The Democratic Union Is To Draft More Detailed Statutes"]

[Text] Milan Hulik is a member of the preparatory committee of the DEU, a right-wing party that is aiming to emerge on the Czech political scene. Following the failed attempt to register the party with the Czech Interior Ministry, he indicated in the press his suspicion of deliberate obstruction on the part of the ministry.

[Verner] Do you really believe that it is someone's deliberate wish not to register your party?

[Hulik] I do not expect a direct intention in this sense. The registration has probably failed because of the character of our statutes that are extraordinary, creative, and not copied from other political entities. In particular, it is our way of election and appointment. The ministry asked for more details. We will comply.

[Verner] As far as I know, you also had applications that were not completely filled out and that does not correspond to the registration rules....

[Hulik] We gathered 1,000 signatures in two days. After our appeal, the people came again to add the missing data; so, that is all in order.

[Verner] Are the secrets regarding the program objectives of the DEU necessary?

[Hulik] We have published them in outline. Regarding detailed information, certain individual actions—for instance, our forged statutes are circulating in Prague—force us to be careful.

[Verner] Whose individual actions?

[Hulik] Messrs. Kulhavy for the Conservative Party and Samek for the Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen's Party, for example, who expected that they would join the DEU in some official capacity. They were bringing radicalism into our program; they founded a shadow government, and, when they did not meet with understanding, they began to set up the so-called New Right Wing.

[Verner] What about the relationship between the DEU and the KAN [Club of Nonaligned Activists]?

[Hulik] If you have the leadership of the KAN in mind, their relations toward us are based on sad envy. They reproach us for stealing the program, the principles of which existed long before KAN; they are general and cannot be the property of a single political party.

French, Czechs To Publish RESPEKT Jointly

AU1403085494 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 26 Feb 94 p 2

[Article by "red": "The Weekly RESPEKT Will Have a New Publisher"]

[Text] Prague—In the very near future, the R-Presse company will become the new publisher of the prestigious weekly RESPEKT. The agreement on founding this company was signed yesterday in the morning by the representatives of the present publisher of RESPEKT (RPK Co.) and the Czech-French MaFra company, which publishes the daily MLADA FRONTA DNES.

RESPEKT emerged at the beginning 1990 as the successor to INFORMACNI SERVIS, which began publishing in November 1989. In 1992, it was awarded the prize of American journalists—Magazine of the Year. Previous winners have included THE ECONOMIST, LE MONDE, and the FINANCIAL TIMES.

MaFra will hold a 51 percent stake in R-Presse, while the current publisher of RESPEKT will have 49 percent.

Government Resigns; HZDS Enters Into Opposition

LD1403134494 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] At today's meeting in Bratislava, the Slovak Government has unanimously decided to end its activity. According to another decision, no member of Vladimir Meciar's government will accept the president's request to exercise his duties until the formation of a new cabinet.

The government has also agreed to recall all state secretaries [deputy ministers] and all heads of ministerial offices by 18 March. Meciar announced that he received two letters from the president. In one of the letters, the president notified him of his dismissal from the office of the prime minister and in the second one, he was asked as the chairman of the strongest political party to nominate a representative of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] who would attempt to form a new government. Meciar emphasized that the HZDS was not going to enter into any government and was going into opposition.

Meciar Makes Resignation Statement

LD1403155594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Following a special meeting of the Slovak Government headed by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, at 1100 in Bratislava today, the Government of the Slovak Republic terminated its work. Vladimir Meciar briefed newsmen about this development at a news conference at the end of the government meeting today. He went on to say that none of the members of his cabinet will accept the request of President of the Republic Michal Kovac to head their ministries until a new government is appointed.

In this connection, Vladimir Meciar emphasized that what is at issue is not a political position, but the situation that results from the constitution which does not prescribe the sequence of ministerial moves in the event that a vote of no confidence in the prime minister is passed.

Based on the government's resolution passed at its meeting today, from 18 March the prime minister is recalling all state secretaries and heads of departments of individual ministries from their posts.

According to Vladimir Meciar, those members of his cabinet who are not members of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], agreed with the government's resolution concerning the refusal to temporarily carry out ministerial functions until the new government is appointed. These are: Economy Minister Jan Ducky, Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna, and Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak. While the first two are returning to their initial posts—Jan Ducky will be the president of the Association of Industry of the Slovak Republic, and General Tuchyna is returning to active military service—General Andrejcak said that he is joining the HZDS as a protest against political practices.

Of the three members of the coalition government from the Slovak National Party, the former deputy prime ministers Jozef Prokes and Marian Andel are returning to the parliament as deputies and Jaroslav Paska, who was minister of education and science, is said to be going back to his initial job as higher education lecturer.

Vladimir Meciar acquainted journalists with the contents of the two letters he received from the president of the republic today. In the first letter, Michal Kovac asks him, as the chairman of movement with the largest number of seats in parliament, to nominate a representative whom the president can delegate to begin negotiating about the composition of the new government. If Meciar fails to do it by 1700, the president will consider his request to have been refused.

Vladimir Meciar is determined to answer the letter in writing, adding that he has already expressed his rejection in public. He also remarked that it is unusual for the president to negotiate with chairmen of other political parties while inviting chairman of the parliamentary group to represent the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. Vladimir Meciar said it is offensive to the whole movement.

Addressing the president, he also said that Michal Kovac was publicly dishonest toward the HZDS in his speech in the National Council and on several other occasions. He will therefore negotiate with him only if the president apologizes. Vladimir Meciar continued: The president who does not speak truth before the National Council should leave his post. It is his duty. Meciar added that the moment a new government is formed, he will consider it the president's moral duty to resign.

In the second letter, the president of the republic recalled Vladimir Meciar from the post of prime minister and abolished his duty to temporarily run the Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property. At the same time, he recalled him from the post of chairman of the State Defense Council. At the same time, he thanked him for the work he had done in these posts.

Vladimir Meciar announced that as from today he is returning to parliament as a deputy. Together with him, former ministers Olga Keltosova [minister of labor, social affairs, and the family] and Katarina Tothova [minister of justice] will join the National Council's plenum.

Vladimir Meciar said that the government is not disbanded. From today, it has begun to work as a shadow cabinet.

Meciar Addresses Parliament Before Resignation

LD1103151694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar delivered almost a two-hour speech in the Slovak parliament today.

In the first part of his speech, he spoke about the results achieved by his government. In the second part, he expressed his view on his conflict with the president, whose speech of 9 March led the opposition to propose a vote of no-confidence in the government.

Vladimir Meciar emphasized that the president had no constitutional right to control the government and initiate its dismissal. Vladimir Meciar proposed that either the controversy should be forgotten or the president should resign. One minute after [the president resigns], Meciar would resign as well.

Meciar also said that, if no early parliamentary election were held by the end of June, a referendum would be carried out, as a result of which there might be 90 government deputies in a parliament with 150 seats.

The prime minister offered alternative solutions to the situation: the government staying in power till the early elections or an agreement between the political parties or forming a coalition with the Party of Democratic Left [SDL]. He said that if the Cabinet is dismissed and a new government formed, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] would go into opposition and its ministers would not take part in the new government.

Vladimir Meciar warned against the interruption to continuity should he be dismissed and expressed the belief that, after the elections, he would return to government.

Text of Address

LD1103191494 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1041 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Address by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to a Slovak Parliament session in Bratislava—live]

[Excerpts] There have been some calls asking me to take the floor and show courage in this way. Let me tell you that courage should be shown in the fight against the enemy and the Slovak parliament has not been, is not, and will never be an enemy for me. [long applause]

There has been an agreement on technical matters according to which a break is to follow the prime minister's speech. Then the discussion will be about something else. I was therefore, deliberately trying to give time to the members of the government and others to enable them to voice their opinions. [passage omitted]

The debate about confidence or no-confidence in the prime minister is a debate about confidence or no-confidence in the government as a whole. It is a problem that is worth discussing at length because it is not about Meciar. This is about the issue of the further strategy of Slovak politics, the further path that Slovakia is to follow—because this strategy is different. And this is a substantial change that will take place. To think disparagingly that this is all about one person is not good enough.

The president gave an impulse and started this discussion. This was a purposeful action, not an accidental one. The Slovaks understand the office of president as a symbol of the state—which it really is—as an office for which they have a sacred respect. It must, however, be also understood that the president is an ordinary man, that the Presidential Office is only one among institutions within the system, of the other constitutional institutions of the state, and it is not the most important one. The most important institution is you, the deputies. You elect the president, you have the right to check on him, you have the right to decide whether he will or will not be president. It is your right. You cannot give up this right, whatever the sanctity or deification of the president, at a time when he is against the government and when he acts against the movement in which he used to be its deputy chairman.

If you allow me I will not talk about this, but I would like to reminisce. [passage omitted]

There are no personal disputes between me and Slovak Republic President Michal Kovac. He is not having an affair with my wife and I do not wish to become a president. What personal disputes can there be between us? [applause and whistling] At the same time, allow me to express my view on his speech [in Slovak Parliament on 9 March, criticizing Meciar].

First of all, assessing the structure of the speech, I would like to say that no one from the Slovak Republic Government took part in its drafting. The president did not ask any one of us to give him information to base his speech on or to help him with it. He did not consult any one of us—it surprised us just as it surprised you—despite our offer, which was repeated several times, to give the president anything that he might need for writing such a speech.

The speech was written from the point of view of a presidential system. The letters that the office of the republic [as heard] receives and the statement that 99 percent of the population is dissatisfied with the overall situation [in the country] is not, forgive me for saying so, an objective analysis. The president told you off, told us off, reproached us for passing too many laws, the quality of which is not very good as a result. He positively assessed the work of the prosecutor's offices, he did not have any objections against the government, with the exception of the prime minister, whom he criticized for his working methods, and for his attitude to himself, the person of Michal Kovac.

He also criticized the political parties and very mildly also the opposition. [passage omitted]

As far as the part of the speech concerning the personal relations between the president and the prime minister is concerned, and not the state of affairs of the Slovak Republic, he [Kovac] bases it on statements allegedly made in one-on-one conversations. What can one do when someone uses such arguments? The only thing to do is not to have any more one-on-one conversations.

I refute the statement by the president, according to which I said that we needed State Secretary Ivan Lexa to be appointed minister of privatization so that we could engage in corrupt practices. I refute this. We have never talked about this. Roman Zelenay was present throughout our conversation. But it is not ethical to base one's claim on the testimony of those who are dead. But before Zelenay left the castle, he met several members of the government and told them about the meeting. They are sitting here, you can ask them. The president must be wrong about this.

As far as the content of the president's speech is concerned, allow me to say that the president does not have the right to check up on the actions of the Slovak Republic Government, does not have the right to initiate, in any way, a motion of no-confidence in the government or its members, does not have the constitutional initiative, cannot demand the resignation of the prime minister.

The president does not have the right to assess the actions of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. He was elected by it and answers to it. The National Council should assess his actions. It is the other way round. You failed to notice this, just because it [the criticism] was aimed against us. [passage omitted]

The president calls for political calm and consensus, but, forgive me, if he indirectly appeals to the parliament to pass a vote of no-confidence in the government, then, it seems to me, he does not honestly want the political situation to be calm. Most of you in the opposition understood that he called on you to do that.

The president has significantly contributed to the immediate polarization of our society. He does not accept the democratic process and the phenomenon of pluralistic elections, according to which it is not important whether the government has a majority, but what matters is whether the majority allows the government to rule.

Norway has a minority government for the third term now and the country is among the most prosperous in Europe.

Today, the mechanism of 86 votes is here, according to which you can formally express a vote of no-confidence in the government. This is the reality.

As for the issues raised by his speech, it is not only the president who is a constitutional body. You yourselves are a constitutional body and we, the government, are a constitutional body, too. Tell me, where else in the world, in which state are relations between constitutional bodies being solved in this way? Show me another silly place, apart from Slovakia, where things are done like this! Things must not be done like this, for nowhere else are they approached in this way! From time to time there can be clashes between parliaments and government. That is quite normal. There were clashes in Hungary, for example, between the government and the president. But altogether, different ways and means were used to resolve this situation. Things must not be done in this way!

As far as another issue is concerned, it was not us who attacked the president in parliament. It was he who has attacked both the prime minister and the chairman of the parliament [Ivan Gasparovic]. My view is that the Constitution does not give the president the political right to express his views on the activities of the cabinet, let alone express his views on the methods of constitutional officials' activities. This assessment is for the electorate to make and early elections would provide an opportunity to make such an assessment. Despite the fact that he declares he is above the parties, in reality he took sides by delivering his speech.

I have stated that I have no personal conflicts or misunderstandings with Michal Kovac, I have no personal conflicts with anybody. I have working ones, yes. This happens often in the course of work.

As for issues discussed and not discussed, my views on a number of issues differed from those of the president. In the foreign policy sphere there was a lack of coordination between the work of the National Council and the government. In effect, we have spent the whole year asking for this coordination. To this day it has not materialized. We proposed to exchange reports on our [foreign] trips. I suggested that the president provide the government with a report on his trips, so that we could use it as a basis for working toward [concluding] agreements. We did not intend to check things. [passage omitted]

We did not receive any reports from his trips at all. I cannot say to what extent these trips were successful, because I was not there, but I do know what happened during my trips. Anyway, this cooperation in our work has been lacking.

As to Slovakia's foreign political activity, our views differed on a number of subjects. Former Foreign Affairs Minister Milan Knazko remarked here in the National Council on Lexa's doings in Yugoslavia. Lexa did not go to Yugoslavia, he went to Croatia. I asked him to go there and to cancel the promise of the president, who was then Federal Assembly speaker, that we and Croatia would pursue and coordinate the manufacturing and sale of arms. After taking his up post [as president], the president once again returned to this matter, saying that Austria was to be involved, too. The Austrian press wrote about some of these matters, which were then suspended. Should any doubts arise, then there is a

witness whom I instructed to be there. The foreign affairs minister who was then also deputy prime minister [Knazko] knew what [Lexa] would do there. (?He will remember it later). I handed written reports on the subject to the then state secretary [in the Privatization Ministry].

We had different views on the recognition of Taiwan when the president requested in writing that the matter be resolved either by a political or commercial recognition, the upshot being that we would receive $5 million. It happened that a Baltic country took such a step and received in return nothing, but such a thing means immediately a political and international conflict with the Chinese People's Republic. I was fundamentally against taking such a step, although I was not against the president. I wanted the state to acquire dollars, but I did not want the state to be involved in an international conflict and find itself in international isolation. Is this a personal dispute?

We equally parted ways in the assessment of our visits to the Czech Republic. After his talks with President Havel, the president returned and asked that we make a settlement amounting to 18.2 billion korunas [Sk] regarding the National Property Fund and Sk24 billion in settling the deficit in the Czech budget. I did not agree. I was not alone when we explained the matter to him at the airport. There were a number of us there. In the end Sk18.2 billion worth of shares came into Slovakia free of charge. The government was right.

Regarding the visit to Poland, which you assessed here, only after the president's visit did ministers meet and prepare the draft of an agenda which both sides would then discuss and prepare by the end of March. When you proceed from the premise that such treaties were prepared before that visit, then the answer is that they were not. We did not infringe on anything and behaved correctly towards the president.

On the question of the assessment of the visit by President Clinton, I personally assess it as a wasted opportunity. We had 40 minutes for talks. Extensive preparations were made. Before the team President Clinton delegated for the visit to the Slovak Republic arrived, the president issued a statement to the press that Slovakia wanted to be in NATO's political structures. The commission which visited our country understood this to be a counteralternative, a different proposal, and this is why I dissociated myself from it on behalf of the Slovak Republic, because that matter had not been consulted with us. It was a unilateral statement, and after all, we are jointly responsible for foreign policy.

An agreement was approved on a joint course of action of the delegation in talks with President Clinton. This was an historic opportunity which would not be repeated; an opportunity to tackle security and economic interests of the Slovak Republic, to tackle issues of cooperation and bilateral relations between the United States and Slovakia. We worked out very many matters, but out of only 40 minutes, 34 were reserved for a one-sided speech which the president, acting as the chairman of the delegation, delivered. How much time then did I get? I asked the foreign minister how much time do I have? He told me five minutes and no more. There were reactions from the American side which were negative in this regard. Twice there was an interruption by a sound signal [as heard]. There was the stance of the foreign minister, the stance of Mrs. Albright, the stance of President Clinton. I was ashamed and I was not alone; we all felt the same in the delegation. This was a wasted opportunity. But why not discuss this matter frankly? I do not wish to cast a doubt.... [pauses]

Why were agreements not implemented? We drew up important documents that were key for the Slovak Republic. When will a delegation of the Slovak Republic be received again in such a favorable atmosphere and in such a composition?

Regarding matters of protocol, in reality these discussions did not take place on several occasions with the president, but he always was represented by a deputy prime minister. It was either a prime minister or a deputy prime minister. This is not against protocol. The same applies to the chairman of the National Council. It was either he personally, or a deputy chairman of the National Council, who represented the president. We have never permitted ourselves to not show respect to the president and not meet him. But when a visit takes place, for instance, in the course of government's meeting, then a deputy prime minister leaves and the prime minister continues in the government meeting. If by a chance an announcement about the president's departure comes several hours before fundamental questions are to be discussed, during which the prime minister's personal attendance is essential, then a deputy prime minister goes. Is this the reason for parliament to discuss the matter? [passage omitted]

Concerning ethnic minorities, the president asked the government for any material relating to ethnic minorities. We were never invited to take part as partners in the roundtable. Only political parties were invited, although the government had a plan ready. We could not accept the situation which had arisen, for example, in connection with the law on place names and surnames which we jointly referred back to the National Council. After a long debate in parliament, I successfully defended the law at the Vienna meeting of Council of Europe representatives, who accepted it. It was very frustrating to learn that the president referred the law back to the National Council for a second time, which he was not constitutionally authorized to do. [passage omitted]

The Government of the Slovak Republic is not to be blamed. The same applies to the law on place names and surnames. One concept came up.... [pauses] The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia cannot create alternatives to government policy. It must support it as long as it is in the government and you will do the same when you are in the government. It was not necessary to

promise at the round table that an executive body would be set up on a governmental level, because it already exists. The Council for Minorities exists. It is not necessary to talk about the existence or nonexistence of government policy; it is necessary to get to know it.

Concerning questions of the relationship with the government, we shall part the veil slightly although we never intended to do so. There were (?talks) with all government members, their loyalty to the prime minister was investigated. For example, at the Ministry of Culture, a discussion took place in March 1993 about the possibility of changing the prime minister in autumn 1993. These talks were also held with other government members. They sit here, they can confirm it if you want to know. It is not the usual way in which the president of the state should go about his business. Only you can decide if I am going to be the prime minister or not and you must not permit anybody to take this right away from you.

Concerning personnel issues, I also think that president cannot take over the role of the prime minister by negotiating with ministers about who will leave what ministry for which different ministry. Only I am entitled to make similar proposals. Somebody did not want to respect this right of mine. [passage omitted]

Regarding the discussions concerning Lexa, Prokes, and the like. I do not wish to comment on the matter. It is a very poor show. The president has made use of Ivan Lexa's remark that was made in private—and I do not know where and in front of whom it was made. He said that when the president was elected, Slovakia was in shit. Nonetheless, to bring this into the relation with the prime minister and start politicking in parliament because of that private remark, this does not seem to me either tactful or appropriate.

As regard the matters concerning relations between Lexa and the president, there were certain problems within the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia. Lexa was right. [laughter] You do not know the details of it and yet you are laughing. This is good.

As regards the proposal about Mr Prokes, excuse me but we do have to accept the basic existing institution, which is pluralistic democracy. If there is a government coalition in power, the prime minister can submit only a candidate endorsed by the coalition. And if you form that super-coalition government, then you will not be able to submit any proposal to the president unless a mutual agreement has been reached on it.

It is difficult to accept when somebody is approved to the office of deputy prime minister for European integration and at the same time is not approved as a minister of foreign affairs. Why not? After all, he is already member of the government. He is not a new person. Naturally, we did expect some support, rather than conflict regarding this matter.

The same applies to Ivan Lexa. If the president did not give me his word and if he did not tell me in front Mr. Gasparovic that he would accept Lexa in the coalition bloc, I would not be have put him forward. He, naturally, said in public that he did not want Prokes. But if, after this public statement, he did not say at the close of our private conversation, that he would take some time to consider the matter and that he would consider his attitude then we (?would have not proposed him). Half an hour after the conversation, his attitude was different. Now he is using that incident for politicking. Excuse me but this was not aimed against the president.

If the government is to be formed by the president as he thinks it fit, instead of the coalition in accordance with an agreement mutually arrived at, a functional government cannot be formed.

As regards the issues connected with the government, one can have a respect for the office or the person, but the president cannot say in any state that he needs a new government that would be trusted abroad, since this government enjoys confidence abroad.

Equally, the president cannot say about the government that it does not strive to be the government of all citizens. The government does not have to be accepted by all citizens, but its conclusions and proposals are binding for all citizens. It is the government of the state.

Equally, the president cannot ever say without any evidence that corruption affects the highest quarters. If it is true, why did he not report to the prosecutor general anyone suspected of corruption? If it is not true, then he should apologize to us. We are not thieves. You may have doubts whether we discharge our office in line with your ideas, but we do not steal. When there was any doubt and evidence or suspicion about any member of the government, I always had it investigated. [words indistinct]

Equally, the president cannot say the government has lost moral credibility. What immoral things have we done? I want nothing else but evidence. You can judge us if you wish but only in accordance with evidence. Look for evidence. If you do not have it, judge us in accordance with an impression we have made.

As regard the accusations that everyone who works for me is somewhat obliged to me regardless of his or her talent, excuse me, this is a gross insult to all those who work with me. I have never obliged anyone but by the promise of hard work. I have never in my life given any advantages above those that are due. I demand from everyone only service to the state, service to the public, not to spare oneself, and to give all. Not everyone has been able to cope with these demands either psychologically, physically, or politically. I got goose pimples when I received, with a great deal of dilemma, the message the president conveyed to me several weeks ago by the speaker of the parliament saying that the president enjoyed the support of the Armed Forces and the police. What for?

As regard to the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia], you do not like the way deputies have been speaking, that many of them have been reacting with emotions, that they have been reacting to the president's speech differently to how you in the opposition understand it, into whose hands it has inevitably played. This is a political motive. But our attitude is different. After all, he is the man who came from our ranks. He is the man to whom we gave 74 of our votes. He is the man who enjoyed our confidence. He is the man who always declared himself as being my friend and who declared this publicly everywhere he went.

As regard the questions of the HZDS attitudes, I ask you chairmen of parliamentary parties, who of you would tolerate a situation in which the president would invite your deputies and say to them that he had his own people in your clubs who report to him, and therefore; he did not need information from you. Who of you would tolerate a situation in which, within your movement, he would hold discussions with your deputies or your party officials asking them to seek another chairman or another prime minister? Among the people who were most frequently in cahoots with him for more than three quarters of the year were Roman Kovac, Jozef Moravcik, and Ivan Laluha too, who was among them for a certain period of time, about three weeks. The president simply cooperated with them within our movement for three quarters of the year. This is simply not a normal state of affairs. Yet this happened.

Regarding, attitude to parties, the Constitution says that parties are independent from the state. The president is a representative of the state. The president of the republic cannot interfere in the internal life of a party. Likewise, the state does not have the right to interfere in the internal life parties. Parties are autonomous in this regard. We did not want anything and at the meetings of our leadership, we discussed nothing else but how to curb or prevent such an influence within the movement.

As regard the criticism made at the rally in the Park of Culture and Rest, we drew the president's attention to the fact that he was not getting good information about what was going on. We drew his attention to the fact that those who were giving him such information were misleading him. But rallies in the Park of Culture and Rest and other meetings held by the HZDS took place under Havel's and Carnogursky's rule and will take place also under Kovac's.

Regarding the crisis we have, it is a crisis of personalities in the parliament. It is not a crisis of the movement. The movement is healthy, ready, and capable of fighting any other party in an honest and democratic fight, in the interest of future cooperation.

On questions concerning the concept of the government's activities, there cannot arise a situation, and such a thing does not arise from the Constitution, in which the president would propose his concept of privatization to be incorporated within the government's concept of privatization. This cannot happen. There cannot be a situation under which the government acts in one way in the Fund of National Property while the president acts differently. These are situations which do not stem from him his constitutional duties. The constitution sets boundaries for competences and cooperation among all institutions. If these boundaries are violated, conflicts follow and both violation and conflicts have occurred before you in the parliament.

Regarding the state of our society, I permit myself to claim that there does not exist a crisis within the state. There is neither a social nor economic crisis in our society and there has not been a governmental crisis to date either. You have been accusing us of not cooperating enough. But how did we pass laws, if not in cooperation with you? You say that we have been concentrating power in our hands. How can a government, that has had since the very days of assuming office a minority in the parliament, concentrate power in its hands. We have been able to make progress only in cooperation with other parties.

The government has never intented to control the judiciary and has not interfered in the powers of the judiciary. We form the government, but only because people elected us in democratic elections. We have not formed the government by cheating. We have not recruited deputies from other parties asking them to vote for us to enable us to form a government. We went honestly into the elections and won the fight and we know that we shall also win every future one. [applause]

You say that broad-based cooperation should have been established. This was not possible, not because we did not want it. It is the interests of individual parties that decide such cooperation. What choice did we have? In the run up to the establishment of our new state, the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] did not want to go with us if the Slovak National Party [SNS] was to be our partner, too, and after the establishment of the state, the SDL defined clearly its interest. It aimed at what I regard to be the correct thing and that is it followed its own of political interest, which it is also doing at present. [passage omitted]

The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], too, formed its attitude to the HZDS autonomously and independently. These were not questions relating to the period ending 1 January 93 which have prevented cooperation between our two parties. They were also questions concerning your attitude after 1 January 1993: confrontation with the government, confrontation in localities, inability to cooperate with anyone at the district level, threats to members of the HZDS. You can claim what you want, but that is the picture. If such willingness to cooperate is absent in the party structure as a whole and when your party structure acts in conflict with the government, how can you come to an agreement with it? [passage omitted]

I was not imposing confrontation on you. I was asking for cooperation. That is why we are saying as late as today that the limits of cooperation are hard to come by. The situation is similar with regard to the Hungarian parties. The part of their policy which is turning into nationalism, intolerance and which contains hints of irredentism, is unacceptable to us. Regarding the main parts of the policy, it is possible to cooperate with you, but you are clearly not going to give up this part of your policy just because of us. [passage omitted]

As regards the relationship which has developed between the president and the government, I am willing to respect the Constitution of the Slovak Republic and I am capable of respecting it. Providing the president acts within the framework of the Constitution, it is possible to forget what has taken place here.

If he is not prepared to do so, I propose the following. Taking into account the fact that a conflict has emerged between the leading personalities and that this conflict is damaging to our state, it is to detrimental to our state, [I propose] that the president of the Republic resign and one minute after that I will resign, too. I give you my word on this. I propose that both of us face our citizens openly in elections, and attempt to gain trust and influence.

As for the solution to the situation which has emerged today, this situation can never be so clear-cut that it prevents it from being dealt with in various ways. The first fact that exist is that the referendum is underway. The mechanism of the referendum has been set in motion. It has been initiated by citizens and none of us should be indifferent to the fact that 15 percent of the voters were in favor of it. If citizens matter to us and if we hold them in esteem, we should respect their will. Their will says: Let's hold immediate elections. Their will says: Put an end to deputies leaving the parties for which we voted for other parties, because those of you who left will not stay neutral for long. You will end up in Carnogursky's camp. [laughter, applause] You have no other chance! And if your reason for leaving us was to get Duray [chairman of the Hungarian Coexistence movement] and Carnogursky into the government, it is up to you to settle the score with your leadership and with those who put their trust in you.

As regards the matter of a referendum, the possible outcome is as follows: Unless elections are held by the end of June a referendum will take place. In the case that the referendum's outcome is positive in favor of changes, its validity excludes the validity of the Constitution, a situation can arise when the current government coalition may have 90 votes at its disposal by the end of June. [sentence as heard] You do not want this but it could happen. You argue that Western Europe is against it. Allow me to inform you that certain circles in Western Europe permit this as a temporary solution. A temporary situation can last for a period of three years, and after three years have elapsed the parliament may change the outcome of the referendum by passing a constitutional law.

As regard to further questions put in the referendum—elections and the proof of property—this all is capable of being resolved. To seek a mechanism of how to prevent direct democracy means to choose a new conflict between a representative body and direct democracy, between a representative democracy and direct democracy. This, for God's sake, we cannot permit. The HZDS will therefore not do anything that would question a referendum and the right of citizens to hold such a referendum. Please do not ask this from us. We have come of the people and will return to them even if we are no longer in the government. We will never go against the people.

The second possibility that exists is early elections. There were three alternatives of elections. An alternative that elections take place a year hence, although I said that they would not then take place. Then there is the alternative for them to take place in November. This is not acceptable. This would mean that the political crisis would affect all those structures about which I was talking, and that serious damage would be done to the economic, social, international, and political interests of the state. This is why I ask all of you to be in favor of early elections, but in June.

It is the state that needs such elections. The Meciar government does not need them. Our readiness to hold elections is the same as yours. [passage omitted]

As regards early elections, we regard them as a key democratic process of how to resolve the crisis. In the case that early elections are held by the end of June, then the mechanism of the referendum could not be set in motion. It could not be.

As regards the questions connected with what to do next is the question of what to do in the period between today's parliament session and elections. There are several possible alternatives. There is the alternative to which 50 of you subscribed—to pass a motion of no confidence in the government. In that case there will be a new government, and the HZDS as a whole will go into the opposition. Do not expect that any of us will become members of the new government, or that you will manage to persuade any of us to join the new government. Our political bodies have laid down that anyone who would want to attempt this [join the new government] that vote of no confidence be passed against such person and no member of the HZDS can be a member of such a government. There exists an agreement of honor among members of the government that in the event of a motion of no confidence in the government being passed, no one would join the new government.

Thus, the vote of no confidence presents a danger that the continuity of the current government's work will be

completely lost. There is also a danger that if the referendum at the end of June reinstates our previous numbers in the parliament, we will bring this government back. Do not even think, do not even consider that we would not do this.

As regards the options of staying in government, there are three options we consider to be realistic. The first option is to preserve the cabinet in its current form until democratic elections take place. We give our word to the National Council of the Slovak Republic and citizens of the Slovak Republic that we will do everything possible in order to have democratic, free elections and that the cabinet will cope with organizational and technical elements of the campaign in a way that will not be detrimental to anyone's interests. We also assume the obligation to accept a cross-party agreement on what the cabinet will do or not do in the period before the elections, in order not to damage your interests.

We are also prepared to accept the third [as heard] option. According to the third option, it is possible to form a three-member coalition—consisting of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], the Slovak National Party [SNS], and the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]—providing the offer I am now publicly making to the SDL to participate in the cabinet is accepted. [applause]

The following option is not easy because of our relationship with our coalition partner, the SNS, but it is the result of their free decision and their own, free considerations that they do not want to become an obstacle to a wider political agreement. I am unhappy doing this, but I am doing it because I am aware of the political realities: I am also offering the option according to which it would be possible to form a coalition between the HZDS and the SDL, which could be formed immediately on the basis of a reorganization of the cabinet, and does not need to lead to the dismissal of the current cabinet. Such a cabinet would also be considered a temporary cabinet and its main task would be to prepare free and democratic elections for all as soon as possible.

I have stated the reasons for our not offering a coalition to other political entities. In Slovakia there is a crisis of democracy, excuse me, a climate of democracy, I should say. [laughter and applause] The government has not acted against anyone for views that were voiced. The only one against whom criminal proceedings were launched in the republic is Ivan Lexa, the state secretary in the Privatization Ministry, for his opinion, which he stated before the election of the president and which he reiterated after the presidential elections. Nobody else is being, or will be prosecuted on the territory of our state by the government. As far as administrative interference is concerned, there was not a single case of interference. While the polemics we pursue are unpleasant, we do not carry out any administrative interference, we do not issue orders or go in for red tape.

The arts have been developing freely. Those harboring another approach to the government and those who sometimes overdo things (are still finding the courage) to criticize the government. But that is a matter of taste and for us it is absolutely natural to respect this. Freedom of the press and the freedom of action by political entities is respected. There were no actions against other political entities.

In this connection, I would like to point out to the Hungarian political parties that they have signed the draft motion seeking a vote of no confidence in the government along with the very same people who only a few weeks ago called for a strong action in Komarno [where Hungarians called for autonomy] saying that there was a need to use force. If this does not serve as a reminder it does not matter. But do not regret it afterwards.

As regard to matters connected with the further development of our political system, at issue is not merely the purity of our society but a climate must inevitably be created, or rather the current climate must be changed in regard to the attitude parties take toward the state and the citizen. The fact that so many people have at present turned indifferently to politics, this my esteemed fellow deputies, represents a common failure of ours, both yours and mine, even if we come out of this best in this respect. Nonetheless, this is a failure. A citizen who is indifferent to public affairs poses the biggest threat to the state. You also have such people among your own voters. This is not merely our own disease. This poses a risk to the state and it cannot go on. To build on the collapse of our society's subconsciousness, the collapse of the interest in politics is not a policy for the future. This is a defeat for the state. Whoever builds on such a premise is himself a loser. Such a person will no longer be able to govern in any other way but with the help of the police. Up to now we did not need to do anything of this kind for we have been enjoying enough of the people's trust.

When making up your minds today, think well of what will happen after the elections. Do not create a state of affairs that would make cooperation difficult or even impossible after the elections have taken place. Those of you who are even a bit realistic know that we will win the elections. It does not matter when they take place. Do not draw a conclusion that would create a situation in which today's success paves way to a subsequent failure. I warn you and beg you to heed this advice.

Allow me now to express my own personal attitude. Along with my friends and colleagues—whether they are in the government or in our movement—I have achieved what no Slovak has succeeded in achieving in several decades or even centuries. I know none of the Slovak representatives who wanted to achieve a great deal who did not have an easy fate and did not end well. Nonetheless, to think that an office or who is in charge are not important, then when the interest of the nation and the state is at stake, one has to guarantee it also by one's own

life and not merely by one's word and one's own position. This is the duty of the person who wants to be at the head of such a great movement. A person who is not prepared for this should not get involved. One cannot distribute rewards in this instance in the form of privatized projects. In such an instance foundations must be laid to prepare the whole of society for the 21st century. A person who does not have such great goals will achieve nothing great. A person who only sees personal interests will be rejected as a person. A person who does not have a program for the development as a whole will perish. Since many of you aspire to get involved and then look at what is ahead, I tell you that apart from the trapdoor of history, there is nothing beyond. One can either sink or swim. All of you who think that there is something beyond—there is nonetheless one great holy thing: To serve all and to give everything that is good as well as bad in us. [sentence as heard]

I am a normal person and I have made my own mistakes and have imperfections. I possess some advantages and some shortcomings. Everyone is better as well as worse at something. I have never resisted a factual criticism of what was not good and I have always endeavored to accept proposals that I have heard from you. If there were not many of them that could have been applied, do not blame me.

For the past four years I have been the subject of a continual political struggle. It was at one time [then Czechoslovak President] Havel who caused me a headache and now our own president is the instigator. During the past few weeks in this parliament you have been engaged in seeking our dismissal and now you will perhaps once again debate this matter and dismiss us. It is not pleasant to be a continual target of the most dirtiest and the most primitive attacks. It is not pleasant to be the subject of invectives and attacks as well as malicious remarks, some of which lack substance. You are against something that you feel instinctively but which you do not seem to be able to develop. It is not easy to live such a life and to bear such a burden. When I am doing it I am not doing it because I feel the need to be in power; I am not doing because I aspire to power; I am doing it because people have asked me to discharge such a service. I will go to them once more to ask them if they still want me. If they say "yes" to me I will continue to serve.

If you believe and stand on the idea of some kind of all embracing human understanding that all parties will be in the government and that calm will prevail everywhere, you will only succeed in bringing the discord that is among you in parliament into the government and into the state structures. You will thus destroy them. This is not such a simple mechanism that could be implemented in such a way.

If I fear a coalition that would be confrontational within itself then this is not because I want to hold onto the prime minister's chair. I am merely doing so because we do not want government departments and the state administration to start fighting among themselves. I do not want our society to become Balkanized. I do not want a misunderstanding among people, which has already been sown and which would lead to ethnic, social, or any other conflicts. When I was the prime minister nothing of this kind has happened.

Regarding matters concerning the understanding of what constitutes either a democratic or undemocratic management and discharge of state functions, you can have thousands of views on the matter, you can have thousands of standpoints, but results have nonetheless been achieved. Judge me for what I have done. Do not judge me for what you have, what I could have possibly done and what was not possible in a given situation. The situation as it existed in the government lead to us having one single common goal—the burning question of the aspiration of the state. [sentence as heard] With me in the government were people who joined at my invitation and each of whom had to win the trust of our people, and I beg you to treat these people with respect. They have done you no harm and they have given to you and to the state everything they were capable of giving. They have given their health, their own personal interests, their own families. They now have only their own life. They have given all. There are not many such politicians who have willingly given all. Whatever decision you make I am proud that I have been able to work with them. They are honorable people. If I were to form a future government the overwhelming majority of them would be included.

Regarding matters connected with present developments and attitudes, one can lose many battles. There is however, in history a time that I call the time of justice, a time that measures each of us. It contains within itself a great truth. In our life we all have been given an equal measure and time itself will judge us. Do not therefore do today anything that would damage the state. Do not be hasty in taking steps in which you would write the government off, only because its members do not come from your ranks.

I am so pleased and so proud that you are the parliament of the Slovak Republic as a state. You are its first parliament. I am just as pleased and proud of the fact that this was the first government of this state. If it is at all possible, let us make sure that (departments) of constitutional bodies are coordinated rather than clashing with one another. If it is at all possible, let us impart to people the art of carrying out a civilized dialogue, let us give peace to the country and let us respect its citizens. If possible, let us get united in political diversity where each of us will be able to help revive the socioeconomic system. [passage omitted]

If possible, let us look for a path leading to an agreement on the use of the huge potential that the Slovak Republic has. Wasting this opportunity we have would be irresponsible, because it might be thousands of years before another chance come's about. It might never come about. My interest has never been other than the interest

of this state. You do not have to agree with me. In fact, it would not be a good idea if you did. I was tough in discussions. You know that I was a winner in the majority of discussion duels. But this should not give you grounds to say I was (nasty) to you.

As far as the issues of Slovakia's future are concerned, I will consider myself an optimist if the basic democratic substance of its existence—the free will of citizens—is manifested and maintained. Should this element be suppressed I would consider myself a really big pessimist.

I know this state inside out. I know each element in its mechanism, everything we fixed, failed to fix, or resolve. I know where it is heading, I know its potential. I believe in people. It is for them and in the face of them that you should demonstrate your belief. There is never just one solution, but a second, and subsequent solutions, especially on radical matters. Thank you. [applause]

Comments on New Government

LD1403184394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Excerpt] At a news conference this afternoon, Vladimir Meciar expressed his views on the new government. In his view, it will not be a majority government, and if early parliamentary elections are not called by 1996, it will not last.

He was basing his argument on the new balance of power in parliament, where the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] will have 56 seats, the Slovak National Party nine seats, and the Hungarian coalition—whom, he said, no one wants in the coalition government—will have 14 seats.

Vladimir Meciar predicts that very soon there will be conflicts of interest among the rest of the parliamentary subjects. He did not exclude the posssibility that a new coalition, new relations inside the government, and new conflicts of interest would soon lead to a considerable differentiating process in these parties. He expects that the greatest changes will be in the Party of the Democratic Left, which, he said—I quote—is not pure and does not play a fair game. He also said—I quote—on 14 March 1939, a different government was formed here, and I am worried that this new government might be similar.

Vladimir Meciar said considerable changes will very soon take place in the HZDS, on the basis of which the movement, which until now focused its attention on fulfilling national democratic tasks, will start implementing socioeconomic tasks.

He stressed that in the interests of this state, the HZDS will try to make a political comeback.

In connection with the continuation of the 27th meeting of the Slovak Parliament, Meciar said that the HZDS will not support the constitutional bill reducing the term of the parliament and on calling early elections for 30 September and 1 October.

The movement insists that a referendum be held and early elections immediately called. In the event of a HZDS victory in the early elections, Vladimir Meciar would be willing to be be sworn in as premier by the president only if the president immediately resigns. He thinks, however, that it is the duty of Michal Kovac to resign now. No other constitutional official has violated constitutional rights in such a vulgar manner as Kovac, Vladimir Meciar said. He added that Michal Kovac has violated the interests of state, and that he failed in both political and moral respects. Meciar and members of his cabinet are determined to speak about this everywhere they go. [passage omitted]

President Kovac on Dismissal of Meciar

LD1203203194 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 12 Mar 94

["Exclusive" interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac by an unidentified correspondent on 12 March; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In the context of the current internal political situation following yesterday's vote of no-confidence in Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in the Slovak parliament, Slovak Television asked Michal Kovac, the president of the Republic, for an exclusive interview.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, what is your view of the current political situation in Slovakia following the vote of no-confidence in Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar?

[Kovac] According to the information I have so far received from the president of our police corps, no gatherings of citizens expressing disapproval of the parliament's decision, with the exception of a gathering here in front of the Primacialny Palace, have been reported. However, we are speaking in late morning, and I do not know what will develop later in the day.

I think that the parliament's decision was free and democratic and that there was no pressure on the deputies. It was possible to say everything in defense of the critic [of Meciar, presumably speaking about himself], and the prime minister also had an opportunity to say what he considered necessary to say. Because we are in a democratic state, the decision made by the majority is the valid one.

I have to take the view that the parliament consists of deputies representing our citizens and thus, that the decision was made by the representatives of our citizens. This is a democratic decision that certainly does not mean any black mark against our parliament in the eyes of our public or the world.

I think that the parliament was facing a difficult decision also because, in substance, the matter was not just whether they express support for the government or no-confidence in the government because various speeches [in parliament] made it clear that the issue was also to decide in favor of a gradual implementation of an authoritarian system of power, or in favor of strengthening a parliamentarian system of power. I think that the parliament unequivocally decided to strengthen the parliamentary system of power, thus sending a very positive signal abroad where sometimes they have doubted whether we are really striving to strengthen democracy and the constitutional state of affairs in the Slovak Republic.

I also think that suitable conditions were created for us to take gradual steps to implement the idea of political, civic, and national reconciliation. Conditions are being created for us to prepare ourselves for elections in a peaceful and matter-of-fact atmosphere, to make it possible for our citizens to decide our future in an election as far as the composition of the parliament is concerned.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, can you say what steps you are undertaking or want to undertake to resolve the situation that has arisen?

[Kovac] I have to proceed in accordance with the Constitution, which means, first of all, that I must recall the government and, at the same time, I want to ask the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] to try to form a coalition government headed by somebody else and not by Vladimir Meciar because a vote of no-confidence in him was passed. It may be possible to form only a government of a broader or a broad coalition. If the HZDS rejects this offer or does not succeed in forming such a coalition, I would turn to those political bodies that expressed in parliament no confidence in the present prime minister and ask them to nominate a person who could form a government. Of course, I will try to get the proposal for such a government as soon as possible. I personally think that it could all happen within 10 days, at the latest. Within this timetable, I will ask all of the ministers to continue exercising their present ministerial duties, and ask one of the deputy prime ministers to head the government temporarily until a new government is formed.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, are you then convinced that the further political development in Slovakia will be peaceful and above all democratic?

[Kovac] I am convinced about it and everybody, including representatives of the HZDS and the SNS [Slovak National Party], of the present opposition parties, and also the president and citizens, all of them want it. If we declare certain rules and steps leading to political, civic, and national reconciliation, it will then become apparent who does not want to play according to the rules, who says one thing and does another. We desperately need civic, political, and national reconciliation, and I am therefore, convinced that we will all contribute to making it all possible.

Says Parliamentary Power Strengthened

LD1203155394 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] The vote of no confidence in Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar has also decided whether authoritarian or parliamentary rule would prevail in Slovakia. This was stated today by Slovak President Michal Kovac in an exclusive interview for Slovak Television. He added that the National Council [parliament] made a clear-cut decision to continue strengthening the system of parliamentary power. Thus it has sent a very positive signal abroad, where doubts were sometimes cast as to whether we really try to strengthen democracy and constitutional rule, President Kovac said. At the same time, he emphasized that the parliament decided freely, democratically, and without pressure.

Statement by President's Office

LD1103203294 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Excerpt] The Office of the President of the Slovak Republic informed the Press Agency of the Slovak Republic about further steps to be taken in connection with the results of today's session of the National Council [parliament] of the Slovak Republic.

As is known, the National Council passed a vote of no-confidence in Vladimir Meciar, the current prime minister. According to Article 116, Paragraph 6 of the Constitution, on the basis of this decision of the National Council, the president of the Republic is to recall the prime minister. The recall of the prime minister means the resignation of the whole government. The president of the Republic is determined to ask those members of the government who were not personally subject to a vote of no-confidence to temporarily continue exercising their duties at the utmost until the naming of the new government. The president of the Republic invited Tibor Cabaj, the chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia parliamentary group, to negotiate tomorrow morning with the strongest parliamentary group about the possibility of creating a new government. [passage omitted]

SDL Chairman Weiss Comments on Resignation

LD1103211394 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Unattributed interview with SDL Chairman Peter Weiss on 11 March; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] The Party of the Democratic Left [SDL], which is the second-largest party in the parliament, will have a lot of say in the process of forming a new

government. This was the reason we put several questions to SDL Chairman Peter Weiss.

[Correspondent] Mr. Weiss, only two weeks ago you feared most what would happen after D day (?in terms) of responsibility and the takeover of power. Has there been a change in the situation within the opposition over the past two weeks that would make you ready to take over the entire responsibility, not just the power, from the previous government?

[Weiss] I would like to point out that we held intensive talks with both the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and other opposition parties. We were seeking ways out of the crisis. The offer I made to the prime minister today was voiced during our talks. A signal was sent to me that it was possible to hold talks with the HZDS. I would also like to pay a visit to the president. We could continue the intensive work carried out by the experts from opposition parties, who managed to agree on the basic priorities of the government, which will be an interim government. The main role of this government is to prepare early parliamentary elections.

[Correspondent] Am I to understand that now, shortly before 1800 after the end of today's debate, the HZDS said it was ready to form a government with you without Former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar?

[Weiss] I would not say so. There was a readiness to hold talks, and I think that is what is important. [passage omitted]

The president informed me that, as is customary, he would ask someone from the HZDS, which is the biggest group in the Slovak parliament, to try to form a government for this interim period.

[Correspondent] Mr. Weiss, do you not fear that the parliamentary opposition needed the SDL to remove Vladimir Meciar's government and that, figuratively speaking, the SDL could be a ladder for the opposition achieving power? Or, in other words, are you not concerned that a right-wing coup could take place now?

[Weiss] That is not what I fear because the SDL would not be able to agree on this kind of (?policy-related) solution. Also, right from the beginning, we insisted on holding early elections. We rejected as absolutely unrealistic that this interim government could stay in power until the spring of 1995. We adopted an accommodating position regarding the opposition, regarding the date of the elections. At the moment, we are going for early elections. We have been promised that the bill on reducing the election period should go through the parliament. A new situation will arise if this bill does not go through. We will be forced to resort to other means, such as a referendum. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Do you have any guarantees that the new Cabinet will survive at least until early elections?

[Weiss] Those guarantees are to be found in broad cooperation, in a willingness to engage in a dialogue, and in outlining good priorities for the [new] Cabinet.

[Correspondent] Does this mean that those agreements will be confirmed in writing? Do you consider that form of confirmation a sort of coalition agreement on a broad basis?

[Weiss] I think it is always very good in politics to have agreements in writing.

[Correspondent] When are you going to see the president?

[Weiss] As soon as possible.

[Correspondent] That means when?

[Weiss] This evening.

[Correspondent] Who do you intend to include in the government of a broad coalition from among parliamentary parties?

[Weiss] I think it is not possible to exclude anybody in advance. However, I think that, during today's deliberations of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, some stances were voiced. We naturally count on the participation of opposition parties.

[Correspondent] Including Hungarian ones?

[Weiss] Talks with those parties have not concerned their participation in the Cabinet. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] When do you think early elections will take place?

[Weiss] I think they will take place at the beginning of October at the latest. Even if a referendum takes place, elections could not take place before September. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Following today's events, is the parliamentary opposition going to consider a change in the post of the chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic?

[Weiss] My view is that, so far, no reasons have emerged for us to leave the principle chosen after the elections, which is that the National Council bodies are to be elected on the basis of proportional representation. The HZDS continues to be the strongest political parliamentary group, and, if no extraordinary political circumstances emerge, I do not see any reason to abandon this principle.

Meciar Supporters Rally in Bratislava

LD1203133594 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] A group of about 300 supporters of the former prime minister [Vladimir Meciar], to whom the parliament gave a vote of no-confidence yesterday, has gathered in front of the Slovak president's residence in Bratislava this morning. The participants, who chanted slogans supporting Vladimir Meciar and calling on Michal Kovac to resign, gathered in Slovak National Uprising Square. Thinking that the president was holding talks with the opposition on the forming of a new government, they transferred to in front of the Primacialny Palace, which is Kovac's residence.

According to Jozef Sitko, director of the Presidential Office press department, the republican leadership of the Movement for a Demcratic Slovakia is holding a meeting in Spisska Nova Ves. According to previous statements, President Michal Kovac intended to ask the strongest group in the parliament, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, to form a new cabinet. He is likely to hold talks with the representatives of parliamentary parties on Monday [14 March], when we can expect bigger rallies in support of Vladimir Meciar.

Kovac's Resignation Called For

LD1103184494 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Not only parliament was busy today. It was also busy in front of parliament. Several dozen people, who gathered there at midday, were joined in the late afternoon by another several hundred. According to the latest information, street lights have been switched off in front of the National Council and in the area between parliament and the Slovak National Uprising Square. The crowd that has gathered here is calling on the president, among other things, to resign.

Hungarian MP's Assaulted

LD1103211994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Several people, helped by about 1,000 sympathizers of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and Vladimir Meciar, who gathered in front of the parliament building, have physically assaulted Hungarian coalition deputies Vojtech Bugar, chairman of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKHD], and Pal Csaky, chairman of the MKHD-Coexistance parliamentary group of deputies. Asked by a reporter from the Press Agency of the Slovak Republic why they did not ask for the protection of the policemen present, Vojtech Bugar said that the policeman whom he addressed said to him to gather 10,000 policemen and then he would oblige him.

Apart from slogans in support of Vladimir Meciar and the government, citizens who gathered in front of the parliament building chanted various appeals such as: Tomorrow we will take to the streets.

Approximately 300 people gathered in Primacialni Square in front of President Kovac's residence tonight, calling on him to resign.

Jeszenszky: Treaty Drafts Ready for Signing

LD1303132294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky has also participated in the 15 March [anniversary of the outbreak of the 1848 Hungarian War of Independence] celebration in Vojvodina. Here is Szilveszter Varga's report.

[Varga] [passage omitted] Referring to the current situation, the Hungarian foreign minister said at the celebration:

[Begin Jeszenszky recording] [passage omitted] Lajos Kossuth [leader of the 1848 Hungarian War of Independence] advocated lasting peace when, in emigration, he promulgated the idea of a Danube confederation and this lasting peace is advocated today by all European and world bodies. The principles are there, and the documents are ready too—only the signatures are needed.

On behalf of the Hungarian Government I can say with full responsibility that the Hungarian Government, the Hungarian nation has drafted this document, this peace document and we are ready to sign it—only the countersignature needs to be put on it next to ours. We are waiting for that countersignature by those in power today—here [in Serbia] too. We are waiting for them to sign [as an undertaking that they would grant] those rights, which their own heroes demanded in Sremski Karlovci and elsewhere in 1848.

If they sign these rights then there will be peace in the entire Danube region and the others will be able to shake with good intent the outstretched hand of the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian nation. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Justice Minister Views Achievements, Elections

AU1403121494 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Mar 94 p 8

[Interview with Justice Minister Istvan Balsai, a member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum National Executive Committee, by Karoly Lencses; place and date not given: "The Minister, Too, Is Primarily a Party Politician"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Lencses] Your role is often seen to be controversial. While you have achieved spectacular successes in the area of the administration of justice, you have been attacked for your views on the provision of justice for past crimes and your role in the disciplinary action against the media chairmen.

[Balsai] I have indeed been attacked many times, but this is mainly due to the political situation. In Austria, for example, this position is often filled by people not committed to parties; therefore, the Justice Ministry is a kind of guarantee against party politicians. However, the situation is different in Hungary because it would have been alien to the unfolding democracy to place an expert rather than a party politician in a governmental position. Therefore, the justice minister has to implement the coalition's requirements, and from this it follows that his activities cannot always be supported by a full consensus. At the same time, this ministry was given a prominent role in establishing the legal background for the change of the regime, and the various political forces did not agree on this as well. People who have different views on all these issues tend to attack the justice minister, stating that he is not allowed to take part in politics because he would then exert pressure on the administration of justice.

[Lencses] It is indeed difficult to interpret some of your statements in any other way.

[Balsai] In theory, I might even agree with this view. However, when the coalition promised compensation in the form of the punishment of the responsible people belonging to the past regime, when—mainly in the interest of the legitimacy of the judges—it made its goal the replacement of the former leaders of the judiciary, or when our ministry was given the task of conducting disciplinary action against the leader of the public service medium that, according to the government, is under the supervision of the executive power, the justice minister could hardly be a politically neutral player in current affairs. [passage omitted]

[Lencses] Let us return to your more immediate area: What achievements are you most proud of, and have you had any real painful failures?

[Balsai] The complex legal regulation of compensation can give us cause for some satisfaction because we implemented the goals laid down in the Program of National Renewal. Similarly, I view it as a success that the courts have become truly independent and legitimate in every sense. I quietly note that the level of the performances might be lower than expected on the basis of the judges' income and conditions. However, this is not politics because it is a fact that the procedures are often protracted. On the other hand, the probable rejection of the draft bill on the public prosecution is one of my failures. It is possible that the timing was wrong and the gap between the opposition's leading jurist-politicians and our views has become too wide, although, some time ago, we held the same views on settling the constitutional position of the public prosecutor's office.

[Lencses] Some people oppose subordinating public prosecution to the government precisely because you are the minister.

[Balsai] This is an unjustified and impractical approach: We are leaving serious gaps in legislation because of short-term thinking and that focusing on particular people. As a matter of fact, it is also not true that the subordination of the prosecution to the government cannot be implemented because of the current court structure. However, we should now start to think about

whether the next government will have better chances of getting the bills passed, which requires a two-thirds majority in Parliament.

[Lencses] What are your views on the failure of the media bill? Because of the missing law, the provision of unbiased information will soon be out of the question, and we should also not forget about the peculiar personnel decisions and the many dismissals.

[Balsai] I am not convinced that the Justice Ministry had the best conditions for preparing the bill. Therefore, I do not really see this as a personal failure. We did all we could and, if the talks are broken off, the reason will be that the opposition is insisting on the sacking of the two deputy chairmen. It is clear that this points beyond the media law because the preparation of a law cannot be linked to personnel decisions. As for unbiased reporting, I try to watch the news on television and the program "The Week" [A Het] and, in my view, they fulfill this requirement. [passage omitted]

[Lencses] The parties making up the current coalition will probably not get an absolute majority [in the elections]. In this case, what will happen?

[Balsai] It is almost certain that none of the parties can expect a similar result to that in 1990, namely, more than 40 percent of the mandates. What kind of government can be formed will obviously be decided at the coalition talks. However, it is certain that the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] will not enter into a coalition with the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] or the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. Apart from this, we do not exclude any possibilities. At a time like this, it is wise to speak with caution and not to exclude certain factors from the start. However, the MDF would not be able to work together with the MSZP or the SZDSZ without a significant change in its political direction.

[Lencses] Does this mean that you trust that you will be able to divide the liberal bloc and separate the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] from it?

[Balsai] Indeed, it is only the FIDESZ that can be taken into consideration from there because it is possible that the Agrarian Federation or the Entrepreneurs' Party will not be parliamentary factors. I see much difference between the SZDSZ and the FIDESZ because the latter describes itself as a center party that represents national values. The term liberal has little meaning on its own because all parties would accept the values of liberalism! As a matter of fact, the FIDESZ is characterized much more by pragmatism than liberalism.

[Lencses] However, what do the voters think about the FIDESZ's rapid approach to the MDF?

[Balsai] In my view, the FIDESZ has not really changed; rather, it is the SZDSZ that has moved considerably to the left. Let us remember that, in addition to expressing a willingness to reach agreement, the statements of the leaders of the MSZP and SZDSZ actually reflect the intention to cooperate. [passage omitted]

[Lencses] It is not impossible that, once the votes have been counted, the result will not be in your favor.

[Balsai] [passage omitted] If the current coalition does not emerge victorious from the elections, rather than being a natural phase in the system of political rotation, this would be a failure because it would mainly indicate that a large number of citizens are disappointed with the process of the change of the regime. In this case, to whom would they give their vote of confidence? The legal successor of the former state party!

[Lencses] Is this your failure or would it also be Hungary's fall?

[Balsai] This would mean applying brakes to the development process; let us just think about the Polish example where the willingness of foreigners to invest has decreased, a general strike is imminent, and they have already moved further away from European integration.

[Lencses] Are you afraid of the restoration of the former system?

[Balsai] Here, we no longer need to be worried about a dictatorship, but we have to worry about the halting of a process that has already started and that is promising; in other words, we would find ourselves lagging further behind. Naturally, we cannot know yet whether the voters are patient enough and whether they can assess the events of the past four years with the necessary maturity. If they do, then they will give us another four years; if not, they will give preference to the rather uncertain new factors that might be appearing with fine-sounding promises. In this case, the economy will obviously be put on a different course of development, privatization will take a different direction, and welfare policy will be placed on different bases. However, I wonder who would benefit from a fundamental change in this phase of our development? [passage omitted]

Walesa Surprised About Pawlak's Visit to Russia

LD1403115294 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1057 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Mar (PAP)—President Lech Walesa told PAP journalists Monday that he was surprised by the announcement of Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak's visit to Russia. "Such important visits must be consulted upon so that I am not taken by surprise," he added.

The president said the prime minister is "independent and self-governing, but it would be easier if we agreed on such matters. I discuss all of my foreign trips with the Mnistry of Foreign Affairs, and we need more cooperation here so that we can achieve more," the president said.

At the same time, Lech Walesa said that, according to information he has, Prime Minster Pawlak's visit "is among the issues that have been discussed. If new issues are raised and if the president is not consulted, the situation could be bad," he said.

Zhirinovskiy Addresses Polish National Front

LD1203142494 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] We want this to become the beginning of our relations between Russia and Poland, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], said about his visit to Poland.

[Andrzej Kruszynski] Speaking at the deliberations of the Self-Defense National Front, at whose leader's, Janusz Bryczkowski's, invitation Zhirinovskiy came to Poland, the Russian politician sent a message to Polish politicians saying that Poland can have in Russia a real help in the implementation of its national interests. Denying all interference in the internal affairs of our country, the main body of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's address was aimed at convincing the Poles about the benefits ensuing from close economic and political ties of the whole Slavonic commonwealth, not excluding a military treaty. Such a commonwealth can become the greatest power in the world, the Russian politician added.

There were also anti-Western accents in his address. In Zhirinovskiy's opinion, the West would be happy to see enmity amongst the Slavs. This is Andrzej Kruszynski speaking for the First Program of Polish Radio.

Holds Warsaw News Conference

LD1203185494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1430 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 12 Mar—According to Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the party he is leading has already had a number of achievements in the Russian parliament. As a result of his influence, Russia's internal policy has been changing, the bombing of Serbia has been prevented, and an amnesty has been declared, among other things.

At a news conference in Warsaw on 12 March, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] of Russia pointed out that Russian policy was changing according to the ideas put forward by this party. He said that Yetsin "had to take into account the results of the parliamentary elections", in which the LDP gained the support of 25 percent of the electorate.

Enemies of a strong state, among whom Zhirinovskiy includes Gaydar, Fedorov, and Burbulis, are being removed from the government. He stressed that he hoped that Kozyrev and Shakhray would leave the government by the beginning of June. "Russia will celebrate when it gets a new minister of foreign affairs," Zhirinovskiy said, when asked to comment on Kozyrev.

The LDP leader wishes the present president of Russia to be able to survive to the end of his term in office, although, as he stressed, it may also happen that elections will take place earlier than planned—that is, in 1996. "If members of the electorate retain their current affiliations, I shall be able to win the elections," Zhirinovskiy said.

He emphasized several times that his aim was to build a strong Russia. He came out in favor of a free Europe, a Europe of many partners free of any political or military pressures. "I am not threatening anyone, but I am warning that, if there is any danger to Russia, I shall harden my policies," he said. If he becomes president, he will, in case of "a mortal" danger to Russia's national interests, use all of the possibilities, "not excluding nuclear weapons."

Zhirinovskiy expressed his "categorical protest" against the use of foreign armed forces to solve conflicts, as, for example, in the former Yugoslavia: "Everyone should solve his problems himself; nobody should impose his precepts."

When asked about his earlier statements, in which he questioned Poland's borders (among other things, he mentioned a joint Russian-German border), he said that "the best border between Russia, Poland, and Germany is the sea border—the Baltic Sea."

Visits Grunwald Battlefield

LD1303163894 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1538 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] Warsaw, 13 Mar—On Sunday, the second day of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's visit to Poland, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia went to visit the Grunwald battlefields (Olsztyn province), where he laid flowers in front of the Grunwald monument. He was accompanied by Janusz Bryczkowski, chairman of the Polish National Front.

"I am laying flowers on the soil where for centuries Germans, Poles, and Russians fought battles. Grunwald was a joint Polish-Russian victory," Zhirinovskiy said, pointing out that Smolensk battalions took part in the battle.

When asked by journalists to whom the former East Prussia should belong, Zhirinovksiy said that "the borders were determined 50 years ago as a result of blood shed by Polish and Russian soldiers, and these territories belong to Poland."

Zhirinovskiy said that there is enough room "along the Baltic for everyone—the Germans, the Poles, and the Russians."

This morning, before his departure for Olsztyn province, Zhirinovskiy took a walk in Warsaw's Lazienki Park and the Castle Square. Together with Janusz Bryczkowski, he laid flowers in front of the Warsaw Uprising monument.

Potential Finance Minister To Meet Pawlak

LD1103221694 Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish 2000 GMT 11 Mar 94

[From the "Panorama" newscast—relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[Text] [Announcer Martin Zimoch] Dariusz Rossati, the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] candidate for the post of deputy prime minister for economic affairs and finance minister, has flown in from Geneva. Tomorrow, he is to meet with Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak, who will decide after this talk whether he will entrust Professor Rossati with the vacant posts in the government.

[Begin recording] [Rossati] The point, above all, is to avoid misunderstandings later. So, I judge that it is good to clarify all of the matters that might become subjects of dispute before the decision is made on the subject of a possible nomination. So...

[Unidentified correspondent interrupting] What matters might these be, in your view?

[Rossati] Well, I judge that it is necessary to very clearly specify the prerogatives of the deputy prime minister for economic affairs because, probably, the past has shown that, well, if there is a lack of this, that is a precise specification of prerogatives, and certain misunderstandings might ensue on certain matters. And another matter is the assurance of some sort of good day-to-day cooperation with both the prime minister and the remaining members of the government. Well, for this it is necessary to set some sort of procedure for contacts, meetings. I think that these are not matters that cannot be determined.

[Correspondent] The case of the Foreign Indebtedness Servicing Fund [FOZZ]?

[Rossati] I judge that this is obvious. If one carries on investigative proceedings in such a case as that of the FOZZ, it is necessary to seek the views of, or to interview, all the people who can bring something into the case, who know something about the case. It is just that I am surprised that this is being spoken of only two and half years after the investigation was begun. So, in my view, the choice of this moment is, well, not a coincidence. [end recording]

Pawlak Says Strikers' Overall Demands Justified

LD1203002694 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] In an interview for the "First Program" of Polish Radio and for the Polish Press Agency, Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak said that the overall demands of Solidarity were justified but could not be achieved through strikes:

[Begin Pawlak recording] When we look at these demands, these general demands concerning, for example, an increase in real wages, I have to say that I, too, am in favor of the implementation of these demands. The [word indistinct] of putting forward such a demand is perhaps very big, and the general, noble, intention is very visible, but afterwards it has to be implemented. We want, through our actions, to bring about the implementation of this intention. When we speak of limiting the growth of energy carriers, I, too, am in favor of such a solution. In this budget, we can already see a visible decrease in the growth rate of energy prices in comparison with what had been planned as late as in the second half of last year or compared with the growth rate of prices that were implemented last year.

I would like to remind you that our government limited these price increases, and it seems to me that the difference between us here lies in how to implement these demands successfully. I am also in favor of implementing them. As I have said, however, if we were to discuss and compete on the level of ideas as to how to do this better and more quickly, it would certainly be of benefit to us all. I would encourage the holding of such a discussion and such a debate. [end recording]

Invites Trade Unions To Talk

WS1403121394 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Mar 94 p 1-2

[Article by A.F.T., B.C.: "Prime Minister Invites to Talks: Solidarity Gives Up a 'Major Blow' for Now"]

[Text] *Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak plans on having working meetings with four trade union leaders on Friday, 18 March. On Saturday night [12 March], he issued invitations to Marian Krzaklewski (Solidarity), Ewa Spychalska (All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement [OPZZ]), Marian Jurczyk (Solidarity '80), and Jan Kisielinski (Polish Miners' Trade Union).*

Yesterday, members of the National Protest Headquarters met in Katowice in order to make a decision on what Solidarity's action should consist of and to take a stand on the prime minister's proposal.

Deputy Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz said after Saturday's meeting of the Council of Minister's Economic Committee and the Council of Minister's Social and Political Committee: "We were pondering the phenomenon of the situation where both the government and Solidarity are declaring their willingness to conduct talks, but still, such talks are not taking place. And that is why we came to the conclusion that it would be a useful thing if a representative of the government, who would be of a high rank appropriate for that or even of the highest rank, could talk to a representative of the Solidarity trade union, who would have been given sufficient powers, and the purpose of the meeting would be to determine what kind of procedural obstacles are preventing a meeting from taking place." When asked about whether the government intends to conduct separate negotiations with Solidarity, Cimoszewicz replied: "Substantive negotiations aimed at arriving at mutually agreed conclusions must be taking place with all trade unions, just the way Solidarity wanted it to be when it initiated the idea of establishing a Trilateral Commission."

Addressing an accusation by the General Administration of State Railroads that the railroad strike was illegal, the prime minister admitted that "procedures required by the law make it practically impossible to organize a legal strike."

Solidarity Chairman Marian Krzaklewski says that the prime minister's proposal is a "kind of opening up, but it also has flaws." According to the chairman, because it is Solidarity that is involved in collective bargaining with the government, the trade union should sign an agreement on its own behalf.

Solidarity's National Protest Headquarters, which held a session on Sunday [13 March], accepted an invitation to talks issued by Prime Minister Pawlak, but the trade union does not regard the talks as a formal initiation of negotiations. Because the government has so far failed to reply to the trade union's demands, which were submitted in mid-February, the trade union's protest action will continue: Protests in Wroclaw, Opole, and Walbrzych have been announced for Monday, strikes in several plants of the Bydgoszcz Region have been announced for Tuesday, and, beginning Thursday (in connection with the initiation of proceedings regarding a new law on popiwek [tax on excessive salary increases]), picketing in front of the Sejm building will begin. But, for the moment, Solidarity has given up a combination of the protests and a "major blow," which had been planned before.

Krzaklewski did not reveal the amount of financial resources collected for a strike fund because that information is secret. He announced that Solidarity will initiate more collective bargaining, dealing with the government's failure to implement the "Agreement on State-Owned Enterprises" over the past year.

According to OPZZ Deputy Chairman Waclaw Martyniuk, given the "current tension and the general situation," the prime minister's meeting with trade unions' chiefs is a logical thing. In his view, the talks will concern the "establishment of the Trilateral Commission." Marian Jurczyk will respond to the prime minister's invitation. For the chairman of "Solidarity '80," "economic revival is a fundamental issue. Jan Kisielinski would first of all like to discuss problems faced by the mining industry (including his alternative proposal to the program of restructuring the mining industry), and also issues associated with the Silesia region.

London Club Debt Reduced, Repayments Improved

LD1103220694 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] The agreement negotiated by Poland with the London Club means a reduction of more than 45 percent on a debt that amounts to $13.2 billion. The repayments of the debt are to last 30 years. They will not exceed $400 million a year. During the first five years, the repayments will be lower and will increase after 2009, when the servicing of debts owed to governments of creditor countries assembled in the Paris Club is to come to an end.

The agreement embraces all of the constituent parts of the debt: long- and medium-term credits, outstanding interest, and the short-term revolving credit.

[Correspondent Krystyna Koziol] The agreement with the London Club on a reduction of our debt, negotiated by Poland during the night, is a very important event for Poland, said Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak at a news conference devoted to this matter and held at the Office of the Council of Ministers.

Several governments worked to achieve this success, as well as many politicians and experts, added the prime minister. He stressed that the agreement with the London Club brought to an end the restructuring process of our foreign debt. This event, said the prime minister, will have a significant influence on our economic situation.

Acting Finance Minister Henryk Chmielak stressed that, in negotiations with our creditors associated in the London Club, we achieved the goals we had set ourselves: We had lowered the costs of servicing of our debt, adjusting them to our capabilities. And the second important goal achieved was a reduction of our debt, comparable to that granted us by the Paris Club.

The results of the negotiated agreement, emphasized Minister Chmielak, are fully satisfactory. With this agreement, we have achieved a full normalization of our

financial relations with the West. This is a sign for Western investors that investing in Poland is growing more attractive.

Deputy Finance Minister Krzysztof Krowacki, government plenipotentiary in talks with banks, underlined that the repayments of the debt were to take 30 years and would not exceed $400 million per year. In many regards, said Minister Krowacki, the main negotiator of the agreement, we have obtained better conditions than those we received from the Paris Club. The agreement that this reduction would also apply to outstanding interest is without precedent, he added.

And one more thing: Until now, because of our debt to the London Club, our daily interest grew to the tune of $2 million. From 20 March, on the basis of the agreement, this growth will decrease by 45 percent.

Deputies Comment on Government Reshuffle

AU1103162394 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 8, 9 Mar 94

[Article in two installments by Iulia Rosca and Cristian Anghelache on the opinions of members of parliament on the 6 March government reshuffle: "The Government Reshuffle—A Weekend Surprise"]

[8 Mar p 3]

[Text] We immediately wanted to know what members of parliament think about the government reshuffle, which they learned about from the press, and about how it was carried out. The answers given seem to show that the members of parliament chosen have not yet recovered from their surprise:

Lucian Avramescu, vice president of the Socialist Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR]: "It was expected, although it was not known who would be changed. If we are discussing the people in question, I cannot say what my opinion is. I do not know them. It was natural to change Paul Teodoru [former transportation minister], after all that had happened; it was an obligation. As for Niculae Spiroiu [former defense minister], they were too hasty. True, it seemed necessary to replace the leadership of the Ministries of the Interior and Defense with civilians. Returning to Spiroiu, taking into consideration the accusations brought against him by Vadim Tudor [Greater Romania Party leader], they should have waited and not given the latter such satisfaction. It is positive that the interior minister has been changed, because I had the impression that a Greater Romania swarm had formed in that ministry."

Gheorghe Raducanu, deputy of minorities and quaestor of the Chamber of Deputies: "This was the second reshuffle, and I view it as opportune. In any case, Mr. Petre Ninosu [former justice minister] was not changed because of any professional incompetence. I do not know whether Mr. Spiroiu was necessarily changed because of the founded or unfounded accusations regarding the structure in the leadership of the Ministries of the Interior and Defense. The replacement of the minister of transportation may be due to failings in his work."

Ion Ratiu, deputy, vice president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party and of the Chamber of Deputies: "What reshuffle?! Things are standing still; there is no real or comprehensive change. I am convinced that Mr. Spiroiu's change is not based on the accusations brought against him. I am surprised that he has been changed. This could have been done later. The excuse is that NATO demands that a civilian control the Armed Forces in all democracies. It seems to me that this is merely a justification, an excuse. In my opinion, Mr. Spiroiu had an equidistant and democratic attitude; he made important changes to remove some personnel. It seems that this attitude of his was fatal. I think that the changes in the Ministries of Justice and the Interior confirm the desire of the current executive authority to maintain complete control in the hands of the majority party—the PDSR."

Mihai Viziru, deputy of the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM]: "I learned about the government reshuffle last night on television and today from the press. I understood that it was a problem of the ruling party and that Mr. Nicolae Vacaroiu was completing his team with professional people. We do not have any merit in this change, except that we told the government to take a stand on the so-called Tigareta affair [cigarette smuggling affair in which the army was allegedly involved]. The minister of defense was—or seemed to be—involved in it; his change, however, is not the consequence of these accusations. Mr. Ninosu was replaced because of his parliamentary group. Mr. Novac is the minister of transportation because he has worked in this area and has been present during all the labor actions in this ministry."

Varujan Vosganian, president of the parliamentary group of minorities: "This reshuffle once again demonstrates that the entire political game of late has not been based on any serious intention to change the political aspect of the government apparatus. It is a show of force, if not of defiance of the other parliamentary parties by the PDSR. What remains to be seen is whether the parties within the leftist coalition will put up with being defied. Insofar as the opposition, especially the Democratic Convention, is concerned, the same problem arises. Developments in parliamentary political activity show that, from an ideological point of view, a conciliation with the ruling party is ruled out. We are not talking of an ideological conflict of yesterday, today, or four years ago, but of a conflict dating back 50 years; it has been brought back into the political arena of today. The differences are too great between the partners in the 'negotiations' to permit a viable coalition. While in the Elisabeta Palace, handshakes were exchanged or nonaggression pacts were concluded, the political struggle was being waged more fiercely than ever. Thus, any understanding between the two parliamentary camps becomes a naivete."

Alexandru Nicolae, deputy of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front) [PD-FSN]: "This is a custom of the government. It is not the first time that it has reshuffled the cabinet. To me, however, it seems unconstitutional. This reshuffle is a tremendous gaffe made by those in power by replacing Minister Spiroiu at a time of conflict launched by Vadim Tudor, this mini-Zhirinovskiy of Romania, who has created so many problems not only for Spiroiu as a man, but especially for the Ministry of National Defense, both at home and abroad. This Vadim Tudor has succeeded in creating a harmful atmosphere in the arms industry. As for the other ministries, I am of the opinion that if something has to be changed, it has to be in the economics ministries in order to invigorate industry and to speed up the reform and transition process."

Vasile Popovici, deputy for the Civic Alliance Party [PAC]: "It seems to me normal that three of the four ministers have been changed: Ninosu, Danescu [former interior minister], and Teodoru. What seems, however, intolerable is to change the general in the context of a dispute between a political crook and the Army general. Given that this dispute has not been clarified, the message to the population is that the army is being accused. In this situation, it is urgently necessary to unblock the 'Vadim Tudor files,' which are to be discussed by the bodies of justice. It is a very serious thing that in the Vadim Tudor-Spiroiu dispute, the Army was defeated and subjugated to a Securitate man, while the current minister [Gheorghe Tinca] is a former collaborator of that Securitate viper's nest SAPTAMANA, a former version of the weekly ROMANIA MARE."

Dan Cristian Popovici, deputy and president of the parliamentary group of the Greater Romania Party [PRM]: "This reshuffling is a constitutional right which the president of Romania has exercised. I personally think that the legal implications were clarified last time. We will probably witness other such government reshuffles brought about primarily by mental exhaustion caused by the very tiring activity of ministers. Normally, a man who has already become used to the vicissitudes in the life of a minister does not rapidly realize what solutions are needed to unblock the mechanism, while a new member who joins the team may do so."

Ion Dobrescu, deputy of the Liberal Party '93 [PL '93]: "What reshuffle, my dear fellow?! This is not what I call a government reshuffle. Four notorious ministers have been replaced by another four ministers, who may be even more notorious, or not at all. In any case, the reshuffle was to be expected and this hoax may work with some people, but not with ourselves. The Defense Ministry has been infiltrated by Securitate people."

Dumitru Buzatu, PDSR deputy: "I think that this reshuffle has surprised a large proportion of the members of parliament, because it took place unexpectedly. Essentially, it follows certain demands made some time ago, namely to have civilians at the helm of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of the Interior. I personally do not know the people who have been appointed, except for the Senate vice president, and so I cannot express my opinion about their competence."

Nicolae Octavian Daramus, deputy of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR]: "This government reshuffle has come at the right time. The government's work was somehow being blocked from both sides of the political arena. The ruling party wanted to unblock it; it is a temporary thing and in the not too distant future a new government formula will be tried."

Gyula Vida, deputy, president of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] parliamentary group: "I expressed my opinion in connection with this issue on 17 December 1993 when the discussion on the censure motion took place. I think that the current government is not capable of taking action; it does not have the necessary support and political performance; and it does not enjoy international credibility in managing socioeconomic policy, which is deteriorating with every passing day. I think that the essence of the problem will not be changed through this reshuffle. It is just a cosmetic operation, an attempt to calm down the public, but the government is actually the same. In connection with the replacement of Lieutenant General Spiroiu, I think it was not a measure that suited the current political situation in our country."

Doru Viorel Ursu, PD(FSN) deputy: "Apparently, one can talk of a government reshuffle by interpreting—in a very broad sense—the constitutional dispositions, which, in turn, seem to speak about a parliamentary republic. What do I think about this simple replacement of people? From a political point of view, President Iliescu has increasingly been assuming the role of a single factor of power. Thus, we are not talking of a change in concept or in the attitude of a government that has not been functioning for a long time, but about painting one's image. This way no one will notice that there is no more interest in whether Bessarabia is slipping away toward the east and that there are strikes and other problems. Neither strikes nor reshuffles add anything new. We can also talk about the inappropriate time when it happened, and that it was somewhat hasty and covert. I do not want to hurt anyone, I have no argument with these people, but insofar as the Ministry of National Defense is concerned, the change does raise a question mark."

"This change revealed the image of the defense minister the moment the press noted that the offensive to sort out the 'affairs' in the ministry was under way. As far as Teodoru is concerned, things are much simpler. Obviously, both Mr. Iliescu and the ruling party did not take an absolutely necessary measure when it was imperative, namely when the Petromin-Forum Maritime contract [on the sale of Romanian fleet] was sanctioned. To avoid the discovery of this serious mistake, which would have entailed not only the dismissal of the minister of transportation, but also that of the entire government, they used this reshuffle."

Dinu Patriciu, deputy of the Liberal Party '93 [PL '93]: "Instead of a parliamentary majority that supports a genuinely reformist government, a minimal solution was preferred, namely a change of ministers; again without respecting the Constitution, that is without passing them through parliament. This proves that the attitude of the PL '93 was justified and we hope that our partners in the opposition have also understood that the discussions with the PDSR are not serious, because all they try to do is to delay and drag things out without any serious results."

Sergiu Cunescu, PDSR deputy: "I appreciate that the executive authority was convinced of the need to appoint civilians to the Ministries of the Interior and Defense.

However, we regret that General Spiroiu, for whom we harbor feelings of respect, has been replaces as head of the Army."

Corneliu Coposu, PNTCD [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party] senator: "The recent government reshuffle means nothing more than a continuation of the crypto-communist policy of rotating cadres," said PNTCD President Mr. Corneliu Coposu at a weekly news conference held yesterday, 7 March. The replacement of General Spiroiu at the head of the Ministry of National Defense, under the pretext of observing the recommendations made by the Council of Europe, has been assessed as a "serious political mistake." Apart from the risk that the appointment of a civilian to this position may not be well received by the Army, the context within which it was made is regrettable. In Mr. Coposu's opinion, additional proof is the fact that "President Iliescu is under the influence of evil forces and is susceptible to blackmail," because General Spiroiu's replacement is tantamount to playing Corneliu Vadim Tudor's game. The reshuffle means nothing more, the PNTCD leader believes, than prolonging the government's agony for another two to three months with the final aim of preparing early elections. "We do not view this reshuffle as beneficial and we do not believe that it has contributed to Romania's stability or credibility abroad. Early elections cannot be avoided, but only delayed," Mr. Corneliu Coposu concluded.

Ion Diaconescu, PNTCD deputy: "Nothing has changed in the balance of power; there is no obvious modification in the political arena. I was surprised by President Iliescu's words justifying the reshuffle through economic objectives, while all the ministers who were changed were responsible for sectors other than economic ones; thus I do not see how they could improve the political crisis. Minister Spiroiu's change is very interesting. This move can be interpreted as an achievement by Vadim Tudor, because no measures were taken against him, but against General Spiroiu. Justifying this measure with the demands of the Memorandum is not significant. The Council of Europe recommended a civilian minister of defense, but we were not obliged to take this measure. There is a tradition in Romania in this respect: In the past 150 years, all defense ministers were career military men."

[9 Mar p 3]

[Text] Petre Roman, deputy and president of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front) [PD(FSN)]: "No one contests the right of a government to try to improve its work by reshuffling the cabinet; however, the answers to the questions why, how, and when in connection with the current government reshuffle are disappointing. First, because no reasons were given. It would have been normal, for instance, to learn why those who held the respective positions were dismissed and what is expected from those who have been appointed instead. As a result of the way in which this reshuffle occurred—by once again ignoring parliament—a third of the current government is made up of people who have not been confirmed by parliament. This government reshuffle seems inappropriate because undoubtedly it raises questions such as how this fits in with the open dialogue with all the opposition political forces in order to conclude a national political pact and what it means for the capital of trust with which we proceeded to achieve a consensus to come out of this blockage. The surprise was very great when on Friday, 4 March, that is 48 hours before announcing the reshuffle, the country's president affirmed that there was no intention to reshuffle the government.

"We believe that, whenever a government reshuffle entails changes in sensitive positions, which, to a great extent, regard general national interests, such as defense, justice, and the interior, consultations are needed to avoid useless tension and keep the option for national consensus open. Unfortunately, such consultations did not take place this time around either."

Victor Babiuc, deputy and vice president of the PD(FSN): "The current government reshuffle suffers from the same faults as the former one, faults which were not meant to be noticed. Thus, they were eschewed both by the government and the other authorities, which were supposed to make sure that the reshuffle was carried out by abiding by the Constitution. When I say this, I am referring to the fact that, in accordance with Romania's Constitution, the appointment of government members has to be ratified by parliament, contrary to what happens in Western countries where parliament approves solely the prime minister and the government's program. Our Constitution also stipulates that the cabinet has to be voted on.

"f there is no specific text available in this respect, a move like this can be modified by observing the initial procedure. I am talking of the so-called 'principle of the asymmetry of legal actions.' And this is not all. We cannot have two kinds of ministers: some endorsed by parliament, others not. Nothing can justify the conclusion that this is something normal. In our Constitution, there is a very important text, which has been overlooked, namely the one regarding 'interim' status. This part of the Constitution stipulates that a person who is already a minister may be appointed as an interim minister. This means that that person starts from the status of a mandate previously ratified by parliament. Within 45 days, the maximum duration of such an interim status, it is necessary to have the appointment approved by parliament. This holds all the more true when we talk about appointments for a longer period, probably until the end of the parliamentary term; the person in question has to be recognized by the parliament of the time. And this requires discussions within the permanent commissions and then within the plenary session of the two parliamentary chambers."

Stefan Radoff, senator of the Civic Alliance Party [PAC]: "Much fuss is being made about political and social

pacts. The first step that should have demonstrated an opening toward them would have been the proposal by our country's president that these ministers be heard and not appointed by presidential decree. Taking each of these figures separately, I think that there are two matters at stake: The recommendations made by the Council of Europe with regard to the appointment of civilians to replace the military at the helm of strategic institutions were not mandatory, specifically now with this Balkan conflict. Mr. Spiroiu's replacement by a man who has nothing to do with the Army or its policy, as I have nothing to do with things outside my profession, is not welcome. Mr. Taracila's appointment as Minister of the Interior—bearing in mind his performance in the Senate, his honesty, and the competence that he has proved, is beneficial. As for the transportation department, which is the most vulnerable because this minister is firmly suspected of being corrupt, Mr. Teodoru's replacement is welcome as is that of Mr. Ninosu, which was necessary from a political point of view because of the delays in restructuring the justice system."

Valer Suian, PUNR senator: "This was a political event, which had been expected for a long time. It is a positive thing that it took place at this time, but it would have been even better had it taken place earlier. The various political games between the majority party and the opposition, including the PUNR, made this expected and necessary reshuffle a little late. I think that through the importance of the portfolios affected by this reshuffle, this change may have important consequences for the progress of the reform process, at least in certain respects, something that means decisive steps in the direction of institutional democratization in Romania, and it is also in keeping with the recommendations made by European bodies."

Ion Aurel Stoica, PD(FSN) senator: "The time of the government reshuffle was uninspired considering the stage of discussions between the parliamentary opposition parties and the party holding a relative majority in parliament. You do not need to be an analyst to ask whether a reshuffle at this time does not jeopardize and question the honesty of this dialogue and its outcome. Second, I cannot help noting the short circuit in parliament; we are of the opinion that the ministers or the candidates for the position of minister have to be heard by the parliamentary commissions and approved by parliament before the reshuffle takes place."

Head of SRI Counterespionage Deposed

AU1403113194 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 12 Mar 94 p 1

[Article by Dan Maracineanu: "Major General Gheorghe Diaconescu, the Head of the Counterespionage Division of the SRI, Has Been Deposed and Is Being Investigated by a Special Commission"]

[Text] On Monday, 7 March 1994, Major General Gheorghe Diaconescu, chief of the Counterespionage Division of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI], was removed from office. Virgil Magureanu, director of SRI, has ordered a full investigation of the activity of Major General Gheorghe Diaconescu.

Sources from the SRI leadership have told us that the cause that led to the demotion of the counterespionage division head is "a complicated one."

Despite the fact that one of the rumors that are circulating claimed that Major General Diaconescu had been placed under arrest, our own investigations have proved that this was a false report.

Minister Appoints New Army Corps Commanders

AU1103153794 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 3 Mar 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "New Army Corps Commanders Have Been Appointed"]

[Text] In accordance with the measures for the restructuring of the Army, with the approval of the president of Romania, the commander of the Romanian Armed Forces, and on the order of the minister of national defense, the following commanders of Army Corps have been appointed:

1. Major General Eugen Badalan, 43 years old, graduate of the "Nicolae Balcescu" Military School of Active Officers in 1973;

2. Major General Florian Caba, 46 years old, graduate of the "Mihai Viteazul" Military School for Active Officers, the Tank and Army Vehicle Department, in 1971;

3. Major General Nicolae Oprea, 46 years old, graduate of the "Mihai Viteazul" Military School for Active Officers, the Tank and Army Vehicle Department, in 1972;

4. Colonel Mihai Palaghia, 44 years old, graduate of the "Mihai Viteazul" Military School for Active Officers, the Tank and Army Vehicle Department, in 1970;

All the appointed commanders of the Army Corps have completed their high school education and are graduates of post-academic courses;

Minister of National Defense Lieutenant General Nicolae Spiroiu and the Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Dumitru Cioflina appointed the commanders of the Army Corps in their garrison residences on 28 February and 1 March 1994.

PD Head: Early Election Would Lead to Disaster

AU1203184494 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] At a meeting of the Democratic Party [PD] Steering Collegium, Chairman Petre Roman outlined the party's position regarding the current political issues.

In his speech, Roman said that the only way to solve the current crisis situation is to conclude a national pact among the PD, the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], and the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR].

The PD chairman also briefed the meeting's attendants about the PD's [separate] negotiations that are currently under way with the CDR and the PDSR and presented the party's stance regarding the [6 March] government reshuffle and the possibility of early elections. Referring to the latter issue, Roman said that in the PD's view, early elections would lead to a disaster, since the electorate, which was betrayed during the last electoral campaign, has lost confidence in everyone and everything.

Minimum Monthly Gross Salary Set at 60,000 Lei

AU1203184394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Excerpt] At its weekly meeting yesterday, the government adopted a decision on the altering of the nationwide minimum monthly gross salary, the payment of which is guaranteed by the government, setting it at 60,000 lei for 178 worked hours [per month].

Among the draft bills that were examined and adopted yesterday, we would like to mention the one referring to Romania's adherence to the General Accord on the Immunities and Privileges of the Council of Europe and the one proposing that parliament ratify the European Convention on the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Punishment or Handling of Persons. The aforementioned documents are intended to make Romania adjust to the institutional standards of the Council of Europe, a communique released by the government says. [passage omitted]

NATO Aircraft Halt Serbs Shelling Bihac

LD1303115794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] The morning of Bairam [Muslim holiday] in Bihac has started with heavy artillery attacks by chetniks from the nearby hills on all parts of the town, especially on Prekounje district and the industrial zone, as well as on the suburbs. Shells were fired from tanks, howitzers, and mortar-launchers. There is no peace on the front lines either. Since early this morning shell explosions and small-arms fire can be heard from this direction.

Fighters of the Bosnian Army's V Corps and members of the Internal Affairs Ministry and the Croat Defense Council are successfully repelling all attacks by aggressors who have been trying to break through our fighters' defense lines for over a month without success.

By the time of this report we have not received information on any casualties in this morning's attack. The shelling of the town and the suburbs stopped when NATO planes were seen flying above. The same happened during the night when NATO planes were swarming the skies above Bihac.

Muhamed Mulic reporting from Bihac for Bosnian Radio and TV.

First UN Military Observers Arrive in Maglaj

AU1303193194 Paris AFP in English 1930 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, March 13 (AFP)—Two teams of 10 UN military observers each arrived Sunday evening [13 March] in the besieged Moslem enclave of Maglaj, a United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman said.

Their arrival marks the first time the United Nations has had a presence in this Moslem enclave, which has been besieged by Bosnian Serb forces since last June, said spokesman Major Rob Annink. The spokesman did not provide further details.

UN officials have been unable to confirm reports of the latest round of fighting in Maglaj as there have been no international observers there.

In addition, UN humanitarian aid has been blocked from Maglaj since October. Western concern has grown about Maglaj as Serb attacks are continuing there despite ceasefires in Sarajevo and central and southern Bosnia.

A UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) convoy was refused passage into Maglaj last week by Serb troops.

UNHCR officials have said the situation in Maglaj is desperate, with attacks mounting on the 16,000 people in the town since Serbs and Moslems reached a ceasefire in Sarajevo February 11 and since a Moslem-Croat ceasefire in central and southern Bosnia came into effect on February 28.

Radio Sarajevo reported that Serb forces began as of 5:30 A.M. Sunday (0430 GMT) artillery and mortar attacks on the enclave that lasted for two hours. There was then sporadic mortar fire. Two people were wounded, it said.

Churkin Arrives on 'Very Sensitive Mission'

LD1403125094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1212 GMT 14 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—Russian president special envoy Vitaliy Churkin arrived here Monday morning on a very sensitive mission during which he will explain to representatives of the Bosnian Serb Republic how Moscow, but also Washington, view the position of Bosnian Serbs following the agreement between Bosnian Muslims and Croats to form a federation, and to obtain a definite response from the Serbian side.

Before arriving here, Churkin performed intense shuttle diplomacy in search of a solution to the Bosnian conflict.

In London he met with Charles Redman, special envoy of President Clinton, in Zagreb he held talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, in Sarajevo with Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic, and in Pale he was received by Momcilo Krajisnik, Bosnian Serb Republic speaker.

According to Churkin the federation between Bosnian Croats and Muslims does not "necessarily run contrary" to the interests of Bosnian Serbs and could form part of an overall settlement of the Bosnian conflict.

In Pale (the seat of the government), Momcilo Krajisnik told Churkin that Serbs have no reason to unite with Croats and Muslims.

In Churkin's opinion, Serbs should be connected with the Croat-Muslim federation by a weak link, maybe a union.

A definite response, it has been announced in Pale, will be given to Churkin in Belgrade on Monday, where he is due to meet in the afternoon with Bosnian Serb Republic Vice-President Nikola Koljevic, it has been learnt from unofficial sources.

It is expected that Churkin will be received by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on Monday.

Bosnian Muslims and Croats have reached an agreement to form a Croat-Muslim federation, which would later form a confederation with Croatia. This concludes the first phase of the latest peace process on Bosnia according to the U.S. scenario.

The second phase, the Americans assess, will necessarily lead to the involvement of Bosnian Serbs. Evidently it is Churkin's job to see to it that Bosnian Serbs get involved in the second phase.

Bosnian Serbs have apparently once again come under strong diplomatic, but also military, pressure. The goal is to find a place for them in the future organization of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This however means that Bosnian Serbs are expected to make the biggest concessions, both political and territorial.

Washington's concept is, by a maneuver of a dual Muslim state, to secure the continuation, albeit partial, of a unitary Bosnia, to extend the territory under Muslim control, and to secure for them an outlet to the sea and finally to create a strong negotiating block (and if possible a military one) against Bosnian Serbs in the coming phase.

Political analysts consider that by this initiative Washington attempts to isolate once again Bosnian Serbs and exert pressure on them in order to obtain territorial concessions more easily at the negotiating table.

Discusses Muslim-Serb Disengagement

LD1303184194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1822 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 13 (TANJUG)—Military disengagement between Bosnian Moslems and Serbs could start in Maglaj, town in northern Bosnia, the special Russian envoy to the former Yugoslavia Vitaliy Churkin said Sunday.

Churkin said he had discussed Sunday in Sarajevo with Bosnian Moslem Leader Alija Izetbegovic the possibility of taking advantage of the recent positive developments between Moslems and Croats to apply the experience also between Moslems and Serbs to get them to disengage their forces and perhaps place heavy weapons under control, FRANCE PRESSE reports.

Serbs, Moslems and Croats have been waging a bitter war in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina since April 1992. With U.S. mediation, Bosnian Moslems and Croats signed an agreement in Washington earlier this month on forming a federation in Bosnia- Herzegovina which would later form a confederation with neighbouring Croatia, also a former Yugoslav republic.

The possibility of the third warring party joining the federation remains open.

After signing the Washington agreement, Croat and Moslem military representatives ratified it Saturday in Split and signed a document on the formation of a joint army.

According to a UPI report, after a one-hour talk with Izetbegovic, Churkin pointed out that Sarajevo must remain undivided.

Bosnian Serbs and Moslems, he said, must put aside their political differences and start working on restoring electricity, running water, transportation and other services in Sarajevo.

According to Churkin, the federation between Bosnian Croats and Moslems is not necessarily contrary to Bosnian Serb interests and could be a useful element of the overall settlement of the Bosnian conflict.

According to FRANCE PRESSE, Churkin is due to meet Bosnian Serb Leader Radovan Karadzic later in the day.

Krajisnik Reviews Talks

LD1303205794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2011 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Srpska republic's people's assembly, has said the Serbs have no reason to join with Croats and Muslims nor to allow anyone to deny them the right to join with the Serbs from other republics.

Krajisnik said this after talks in Pale today with the Russian president's special envoy Vitaliy Churkin, which took place after Churkin's talks with Muslim President Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo.

"Churkin came here to inform us about the talks he held with the Muslim side and about the talks between the Croats and Muslims. He wanted to hear our position on this," Krajisnik said after the talks with Churkin.

"Churkin said no obstacles should be put in the way of the Croat-Muslim agreement. He also said that some people think that the Serbs should also have a loose link with the Croat-Muslim federation, perhaps in the form of a union," Krajisnik said.

He added that he had told Churkin that the Serb side's position will be officially presented tomorrow in Belgrade, where Churkin is expected to meet Nikola Koljevic, the Srpska republic's deputy president, and Aleksa Buha, the foreign minister.

"Churkin told me the Bosnian Serbs should have a firmer link with the rest of the Serb people," Krajisnik said, and added that the Russian envoy did not define the nature of such a link in clear terms. "The concept is nót exactly clear, but we have nevertheless undertaken the obligation to negotiate all possible solutions," Krajisnik said, adding that the Serb side is ready to resume talks as long as Serb interests are not threatened.

As regards Churkin's statement after the talks with Izetbegovic that Tuzla airport will not be under the control of Russian troops but that the Russian military observers will be deployed there, Krajisnik said: "We reached an agreement on this in Russia. According to the agreement, civilian Russian representatives will be deployed at Tuzla airport, together with the Serb ones. I think this is a realistic agreement, and Mr. Churkin said today the Russian side will insist on it. This gives us

encouragement in our belief that we will finally reach the right solution for the opening of Tuzla airport," Krajisnik said in conclusion.

Krajisnik Calls Confederation 'Unnatural'

LD1203154794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1417 GMT 12 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—Speaker of the Bosnian Serb Parliament Momcilo Krajisnik said on Saturday that a federation of Serbs with Moslems and Croats in Bosnia is "unnatural, illogical and unacceptable," but that the Bosnian Serb Republic would agree to talks as "a contribution to a future constructive approach to the resolving of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis."

"We do not accept a federation, but we accept talks on a new, future modality for linking Serbs, Croats and Moslems," Krajisnik said in a statement to the local radio in the Serbian town of Jagodina.

Krajisnik, however, warned that Bosnian Serbs would "attend such talks when the European Union, which we no longer trust, fulfills the promises it gave during negotiations so far."

Bosnian Serbs, Moslems and Croats have been waging a bitter war since April 1992 in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina. Under strong pressure from the U.S., Bosnian Moslems and Croats signed an agreement in Washington last week on a federation of the territories which they control in Bosnia, which would later enter into a confederation with the also former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

In his statement to Radio Jagodina, Krajisnik said that Bosnian Serbs have an "absolutely negative stand" regarding Turkey's request to send its troops to Bosnia as part of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

Krajisnik said that Turkey had once been an occupying force in the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that it was "completely biased" and had "demanded the bombing of Serb positions in Bosnia."

"The presence of Turkish forces in Bosnia, even if only on the line of demarcation between Moslems and Croats, is not welcome and would mean a new fanning of the war," Krajisnik warned.

Discusses Muslim-Croat Land

LD1303102794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0939 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] Kragujevac, 13 March (TANJUG)—The chairman of the Srpska republic assembly, Momcilo Krajisnik, said today that "the future Muslim-Croat federation can encompass 45 percent of the territory at the most because that is the amount of territory owned by Muslims and Croats."

Taking part in Kragujevac Radio's "Pecat Vremena" program, Krajisnik said that all other statements were means of exerting pressure to make the Serbs give up more territory.

However, Krajisnik said that other things apart from the percentage of the territory were also important. Quality is also important and the Serb side will insist on this.

Asked about the Serb position for the tripartite talks which will take place next week, Krajisnik said that many matters were already settled except for the territorial demarcation.

"Two entities exist on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina now—the Muslim-Croat federation and the Srpska republic. We have also agreed to discuss other, previously settled, issues so it cannot be said that we do not want to cooperate," Krajisnik said.

Mladic Objects to French UN Troop Deployment

LD1303002694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2322 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The commander of the army of the Srpska republic, Gen. Ratko Mladic, this evening warned the head of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mission for former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, that problematic actions by members of the French UN battalion deployed in the region of Bihac could lead to undesirable incidents.

In a letter to Akashi, Gen. Mladic stresses that the French UN battalion has deployed its reconaissance groups in front of the Muslim forces along the lines of separation facing the Serb units.

"Thus deployed UNPROFOR reconaissance groups have been used by the Muslim forces as a safe position from where they can open fire against positions held by the army of the Srpska republic. At the same time, they wish to trigger our retaliation against the UNPROFOR members, by which they would cause a conflict between the Serb forces and UNPROFOR," says Gen. Mladic's letter which was forwarded to TANJUG.

The commander of the army of the Srpska republic assesses that this deployment of the reconnaissance groups by the French battalion is "objectively speaking benefiting the protection of the Muslim forces and tolerating combat activities from thier positions and adjacent to them; this could force a reaction by our forces in terms of self-defense and cause more serious consequences."

Gen. Mladic recalls in his letter to Akashi that "hitherto not one member of the UNPROFOR forces has been killed by our forces, and other unpleasant situations are extremely rare," and he requests that the head of the

UNPROFOR mission personally take it upon himself to see to it that the French reconnaissance groups are removed.

Muslims, Serbs Agree To Open Roads, Bridge

LD1203193594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Negotiations with the Serb aggressor side continued at Sarajevo Airport today. The talks were conducted by Hasan Muratovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina minister without portfolio, who came from the airport a few minutes ago and made the following statement for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Muratovic, two days ago you had a meeting at which you agreed to resume the talks today. What was agreed today?

[Muratovic] Today we agreed something that we could not do last time. In brief, we agreed to sign an agreement by Tuesday. The details of it, according to our guidelines and minutes from the meeting, will be worked out by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]. The details include maps showing roads.

We have agreed to open up the Butmir-Dobrinja road—which will run across the airport runway—for our use, and the Lukavica-Ilidza road—which will also run across the airport runway—for use by the Serbian side. The roads will cut across each other at one point. We have also agreed to open up the Sarajevo-Visoko road via Vogosca, and to open the Grbavica bridge for civilians.

All this will be opened up simultaneously on Saturday, 18 March, if the agreement is signed, which I no longer doubt will happen. Only UNPROFOR can now make some problems in this respect, as the roads run across the airport runway. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Croat, Muslim Groups Sign U.S.-Brokered Accord

LD1203125094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] After three days of very intensive talks and work on the coordination of positions, the military representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], Generals Rasim Delic and Ante Roso, signed a document on accepting certain principles for the implementation of military agreements as an obligation stemming from the general agreement in Washington. The document was signed at the Villa Dalmacija in Split in the presence of U.S. mediator-ambassador Jack Galvin. By signing the document, the military leaders of the Croat and Muslim sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina accepted and strongly upheld the earlier peace agreement concluded through UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] mediation and accepted certain tasks concerning the organization of the federal army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The signing of this document by the military delegations of the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army was described by U.S. mediator Jack Galvin as historic. Galvin paid tribute to both sides for their support and readiness to implement the document in its entirety. The cease-fire process, as U.S. mediator Galvin said in a statement for the public, has taken off successfully in the field and is even being implemented beyond all expectations. This initial step and today's signing of the document by the military commanders of the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are also important because they prove to the United States that the agreement signed in Washington was something acceptable to both sides.

Bosnian Chief of Staff on Talks

LD1203151994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Telephone interview with General Rasim Delic, chief of general staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, in Split, by Mihat Kulender, in Sarajevo, on 12 March—live or recorded]

[Text] Our producer (?Mihat Kulender) talked to Army General Rasim Delic about the talks so far.

[Kulender] Mr. Delic, the talks concern the principles of military organization in the future federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. What were the concrete decisions reached so far?

[Delic] On 11 and 12 March, I had a meeting with General Roso in the Dalmacija villa here in Split, from where I am speaking, in the presence of General Galvin. One of the aims of the meeting was to create conditions for organizing a joint army of the future Bosnia-Herzegovina federation. During a constructive discussion over these past two days we found solutions to all problems linked, above all, to a transitional period. Namely, [word indistinct] was to first fully examine whether the Zagreb agreement of 23 February this year was implemented in its entirety. We came to a conclusion that a great deal has been done and that the work is nearly completed. The aim here was to create conditions for the overcoming of certain problems and the setting up of initially a shared and then a united command of the future federation, in accordance with the constitutional [word indistinct], which are expected to be passed and which will be signed by these three representatives, in our case by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency.

In any case there were not too many controversial issues. Details of this agreement are being prepared. We are expecting to sign it any minute now, after which a joint press conference will be held.

[Kulender] What was the general atmosphere during the talks? The information media have been optimistic.

[Delic] One should say that the talks, even compared to the Zagreb talks on the cease-fire agreement, were even more constructive and the atmosphere was more relaxed. Every issue was examined from the aspect of the interests of both sides and above all in the interest of the future federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I can say that, starting with the welcoming ceremony and all the honors bestowed on the representative and commander of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army by the state authorities, i.e., the army of the Republic of Croatia, an atmosphere was created for conducting the talks in the most natural and best possible way and this is exactly what happened.

[Kulender] The talks were also attended by U.S. President Bill Clinton's special military envoy, General John Galvin.

[Delic] Yes, he was present. His presence was extremely important because he is a man with a rich military experience who made appropriate suggestions regarding the organization and functioning of such an important institution as the army. It is certain that this is a form of guarantee, a fact that gives backing to this agreement to be signed.

[Kulender] Mr. Delic, thank you for this conversation. In case we failed to ask you something you would wish to comment on, please go ahead.

[Delic] There is not much to add, but it should be said that this agreement covers many issues of vital importance to the army. All these issues certainly cannot be enumerated and commented in such a brief conversation. In any case, my best regards to your listeners, and I could say that we have established the dynamics for the further elaboration of this document because we shall not remain on the present text—we shall elaborate in the near future and come up with concrete solutions that should be implemented in the field as was the case with the implementation of the Zagreb agreement.

[Kulender] Thank you, Mr. Delic.

HVO Violating Cease-Fire

LD1203223694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Extremists of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] have violated the cease-fire on the territory of the First Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

A Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldier has been killed by a sniper bullet while another was wounded. One member of the civilian police and one woman have also been wounded, which confirms that the enemy, following its murderous instincts, does not differentiate between civilians and soldiers [no date given].

HVO fired two artillery rounds and seven 60-mm shells on positions held by units commanded by Avdija Rozajac in the region of Smailovici and Vasino Brdo on 11 March. Intensive sniper and small arms fire was opened along the entire defense line manned by this unit, particularly in the area of Zavrtaljka and Smailovici. Shortly after 1900 hours yesterday evening, HVO extremists carried out combat actions from M-84 machine guns, the so-called death- sowers, and anti-aircraft guns from the region of Brestovica, while they were noticed to be entrenching themselves intensively above the village of (?Gagve), which is a clear indication of their future intentions.

While UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] military observers were trying to mediate in the exchange of the body of one Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldier which the HVO has held for a long time, small arms fire was opened on the international military observers from HVO positions. UNPROFOR members assessed this as a serious indicent. [passage omitted]

Muslim-Croat Fighting Continuing

LD1203182094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1739 GMT 12 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Banja Luka, Mar 12 (TANJUG)—Moslem-Croat fighting in the central and southwest parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina continues despite an agreement, signed on Saturday, on forming a joint Croat-Moslem army.

The radio of the Bosnian Croat state of Herceg-Bosna said on Saturday that Moslem forces in the region of Kiseljak, Kresevo and [word indistinct] continue violating the ceasefire agreement by opening mortar and infantry fire on Croat positions.

The radio said that the situation in the other Moslem-Croat fronts was somewhat quieter but that the Moslem army continues reinforcing its positions, regrouping and bringing in fresh troops.

The Zagreb-based Croatian radio, however, said that on Saturday afternoon the Croat part of the Herzegovina city of Mostar was hit by a shell fired from the Moslem positions, after which a general alert was sounded.

Moslem Sarajevo radio claims that Croat snipers in Mostar continue firing on the separation line and civilian facilties in the Moslem-controlled part of the city.

According to the radio, in the southern parts of Mostar, the Croats are torching the remaining Moslem homes to prevent their owners from returning.

The Bosnian Moslems and Croats, who have been fiercly clashing in central and southwest Bosnia since last spring, are continuing their battles despite a draft agreement on a Moslem-Croat federation in this ex-Yugoslav republic which was signed early this month in Washington under strong U.S. pressure.

The military part of this agreement was on Saturday signed by the commanders of the Moslem and Croat forces, Rasim Delic and Ante Roso.

Clashes Continue in Central Bosnia

LD1303160494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1529 GMT 13 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 13 (TANJUG)—Moslem-Croat clashes in central Bosnia-Herzegovina continue despite Saturday's military agreement on forming joint armed forces and Croat forces continue the destruction of Moslem religious objects.

Zagreb-based Croatian Radio reports on Sunday that Moslem units early that day attacked Bosnian Croat Army (HVO) positions in the area of Novi Travnik, central Bosnia. The Moslem Army, the source claims, fired explosive devices at Croat positions and opened fire from infantry weapons.

Meanwhile, Moslem-held Radio Sarajevo accuses "HVO extremists" of being against peace in central Bosnia. Croat troops attacked Moslem positions in the area of Zavidovici from infantry weapons and long-range rifles on Saturday, Radio Sarajevo says.

The radio says that Croat troops on Saturday also opened fire at the village of Vrhovine near Gornji Vakuf, where a Moslem soldier was wounded. Croat forces launched attacks on Moslem positions in the area of Kiseljak (to the west of Sarajevo) and near-by Fojnica, Radio Sarajevo says.

In Gromoljak, a village near Kiseljak, Croats blew up and razed the last mosque in this area two nights ago, so that there are now no Moslem religious objects there, Radio Sarajevo says in today's broadcasts.

On Sunday morning, regardless of their holiday of Bairam, the Moslems continued fierce attacks on the Brcko area, northern Bosnia.

The attack started at 0530 local time when Moslem units fired about 40 mortar shells on Serb defense lines from their positions to the south-west and west of Brcko.

Meanwhile, local Croat forces (HVO) in the Orasje area, north-west of Brcko, fired from small arms on Serb positions.

Bosnian Serb forces were forced to return fire, after which the attacks abated.

Hurried Ethnic Cleansing Before Agreement Signed

LD1103231394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2030 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Banja Luka, March 11 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Croat and Moslem authorities are rushing to ethnically cleanse the territories under their control before reaching final agreement on a Croat-Moslem federation in war-shattered Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosnian Serb army sources said on Friday.

The Croat-populated village of Lovrici near Gradacac in the north has been completely depopulated, which the Moslem media are trying to deny.

Also, Croats in Zenica, central Bosnia, are selling out their property at a frenzied rate, a sure sign of preparations for a move-out.

Moslem authorities have ordered the torching of Croat houses in the abandoned village of Zubici near Travnik, also in central Bosnia, and the two sides are trading accusations of burning and demolishing houses around Mostar in the south.

On the Kiseljak front near Sarajevo on Friday, Moslem infantry forces attacked Croat positions at the locality of Kazagici in an effort to break into Croat-held territory, said Zagreb-based Croatian radio.

The Croat troops fought back and repulsed the attack at no casualties to themselves, the source said.

The Croatian radio correspondent in Mostar said on Friday that the exchange of prisoners, in the course of which Croats held in Bugojno, central Bosnia, and Moslem-controlled east Mostar should be released, "is not going well."

'Unprecedented Horrors' Reported in Maglaj

LD1203124394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] [Correspondent Hajrudin Sermic in Maglaj] Maglaj is going through the worst day of shelling since the beginning of the war.

The unprecedented horrors of Maglaj's inferno have descended on the population with a vengeance this morning. The heaviest shelling since the beginning of the war is going on as I am filing this report. Dozens of howitzer and mortar shells fired in salvos are crashing onto the town center every minute. The town is being shelled from several directions and by all means at the enemy's [Bosnian Serbs] disposal. Five Russian-made surface-to-surface missiles have been fired at civilians and the town itself this morning. Casualties have been reported, although the exact numbers are impossible to determine.

The Serb aggressor's offensive against the defense positions held by our [Muslim] defenders continues with the support of several hundred missiles fired from artillery pieces of all calibers. Concentrated fire is being directed at the area around the Nekolje dam. However, the fighters of the 201st Valiant Brigade and other units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army cannot be swayed and are not giving in an inch.

Serbs Continue Attacks in Brcko

AU1403105094

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0900 GMT on 14 March

within its regular 10-minute newscast carries several reports on the combat situation in the republic.

Hajrudin Fermic reports from Maglaj on "the Serbian aggressor's fierce attacks on the free territories" and says that "tank and mortar shells are occasionally (?pounding) all the front lines and chetnik snipers are looking for civilian victims in the northern part of the city."

A correspondent whose name is indistinct reports that "Olovo was again a target of the aggressor's attacks yesterday. During the day, long-range artillery was occasionally used to attack the defense lines. In the evening, [words indistinct] (?villages) came under heavy fire from the aggressor's howitzers, guns, and mortars." He says that "in Olovo this morning the enemy army is making infantry provocations."

Mirza Sadikovic reports from the Bihac region that "despite Yasushi Akashi's open invitation for NATO aircraft to be used to prevent the Serbian aggressor from running further amok in the Bihac region, they have nevertheless continued their [word indistinct] practice of ignoring the international public." He says that "artillery and tank activity against the center of Bihac intensified in the afternoon and evening. There are many casualties, and incomplete information indicates that at least eight citizens have been seriously wounded. There are many more people with slight wounds and some have been killed. The material damage is huge. These activities then spread to the outskirts, to the Cazin commune region, as well as to major roads. As for the defense lines, the artillery and tank activity and attempts at infantry breakthroughs are incessant. For the first time since the beginning of the offensive, the chetniks have shelled Orjanska Glavica and (Culumak), while in the zone covered by the Headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council, chetnik artillery targeted [word indistinct] the front lines and the regions around (Skocaj). There have also been activities from the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina. In this period, major infantry battles have taken place, in which our defenders managed to thwart new attempts to break through. In addition, the chetniks have introduced a new tactic—their snipers are using silencers. At the front lines facing the paramilitary formations of the so-called Kladusa autonomy, there are sporadic provocations and artillery activity all the time, particularly in the Cazin regions of (Trbac) (?or) [word indistinct]."

Muslims Continue Brcko Attacks

LD1303142994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Banja Luka, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Despite Bairam, members of the Muslim Army resumed their fierce attacks on Srpska republic army positions on the Brcko front [vital Serb corridor connecting Serbia and Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia, which passes through the town of Brcko] this morning, the information service of the 1st Corps of the Srpska republic army reported.

The attack was launched at 0530 this morning when Muslim units from Gornja Brka, nine kilometers southwest of Brcko, fired about 20 82-mm and 120-mm mortar shells.

Another 15 mortar shells have been fired on the Ulice district from the direction of the Bukovac train station, west of Brcko. Muslim forces also launched a fierce 82-mm mortar attack in the direction of Lipovac.

HVO [Croatian Defense Council] units have joined the attacks, opening fierce infantry fire from the direction of Kopanica in the wider area of Orasje [Bosnian Croat-held municipality north of the Serb corridor] on Serb positions in Krepsic. [passage omitted]

Regular units of the Republic of Croatia have not been withdrawn from former Bosnia-Herzegovina even though the UN Security Council deadline expired on 17 February.

Serbs Defeat 'Futile' Muslim Attacks

LD1403130094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1218 GMT 14 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Doboj, March 14 (TANJUG)—Moslems launched five major infantry assaults with strong artillery support on the Doboj front in the north last night, but have been beaten back every time, Bosnian Serb military sources said on Monday.

Three of the attacks were on the Teslic front, south of Doboj, where the Moslems disregarded their festival of Bairam and engaged in strong offensive activities against the Serb positions.

Another abortive attack was launched on the south sector of the Trebava front, east of Doboj, which the Serbs beat back, suffering no casualties in the process.

Yet another futile effort to break through the Serb defence lines was undertaken on the western sector of the Ozren front, south of Doboj. Here, the Serbs also neutralised a Moslem terrorist group in an attempt to be infiltrated behind Bosnian Serb lines.

Serb villages on Mt. Ozren were subjected to strong small-arms fire by Moslem forces, which have been observed to be regrouping.

One Serb soldier was wounded by Croat small-arms fire from the direction of Orasje in the north after midnight, Serb military sources said.

Bosnian Serb positions were exposed to provocations also elsewhere in the Sava River basin during the night, but did not respond.

The Bosnian Serb army command in Herzegovina reported reduced Moslem operations and only sporadic fire from small-arms and anti-aircraft guns from the direction of Gorazde in the east.

In the coming days, Moslems are likely to launch assaults on Cajnice, Ustikolina and Kalinovik in the southeast and Borci in central Bosnia, the source said and attributed the present comparative lull in the fighting to the Bairam festival.

Muslim-Serb 'Row' Delays Tuzla Airport Opening

AU1103165494 Paris AFP in English 1637 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Geneva, March 11 (AFP)—A row over the presence of Serb liaison officers to monitor aid deliveries is delaying the opening of Tuzla airport to relief flights, UN special envoy to ex-Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi said Friday [11 March].

It was "premature" to talk of an agreement in Moscow between Russia and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to re-open the airport, Akashi said.

The Serbs were insisting on liaison officers at the airport, a move vigorously opposed by the Moslem-led Bosnian government.

"The positions are quite apart," Akashi admitted.

Aid officials said the opening of the airport to humanitarian aid flights is vital to the 700,000 mainly Moslem inhabitants in the region who have been kept without adequate food since war broke out in Bosnia almost two years ago.

Nevertheless the UN is pressing ahead with work to ready the runway and airport to receive fixed winged aircraft within a week or two, Akashi said.

"We would like to do it with the agreement of the parties so that the airport will not be exposed to shelling or bombardment," he added.

When the airport does re-open, the humanitarian air bridge would fly in one or two flights per day, in daylight hours.

In a sign of some progress in the region, Ron Redmond, spokesman for the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said aid distribution across Bosnia last week had been "extremely good," with 8,100 tonnes of aid delivered in the week to early Friday, some 83 percent of the target.

However, the UNHCR had protested to the Serbs over their blockade of convoys for the Moslem-held pockets of Maglaj and Tesanj, he added.

A fuel convoy was allowed into Gorazde where people have been dying in hospital because its electricity generator lacked fuel.

However the situation at Maglaj remained very serious with 10 aid trucks packed with supplies forced to return to Zagreb and Banja Luka, Redmond said.

"We will attempt to send two convoys at the start of next week from Zagreb and Zenica and will try also to reach Tesanj," the UNHCR spokesman said.

Although Redmond said the UNHCR had protested strongly to the Serbs over the delays, Akashi blamed "Croat populations from neighbouring villages" for blocking the convoys.

The Japanese diplomat said that at a meeting with the three warring parties in the Bosnian conflict in Geneva on Thursday he had sensed "isolation, some bitterness and hardening" of the Serb position over a U.S.-sponsored plan for a Moslem-Croat federation in Bosnia.

On the Bosnian capital Sarajevo, Akashi said "total freedom of movement should be possible within the next several weeks," but said further negotiations were needed with the Bosnian government and the Serb side.

UN Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali is expected to address the UN Security Council in the next few days to say which countries would be invited to send contingents to the UN Protection Force in Bosnia, Akashi said.

The UN chief said 10,000 extra troops would be needed to maintain the "still fragile" ceasefire in Bosnia.

Meanwhile, the UN Protection Force successfully rotated Canadian troops in the eastern Moslem enclave of Srebrenica with their Dutch counterparts.

Ambassador to Croatia Views Federation

AU1103170294 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 94 pp 12-13

[Interview with Bisera Turkovic, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina's ambassador to Croatia, by Milan Jelovac; place and date not given: "The Serbs Will Also Accept the Federation"]

[Text] *Mrs. Bisera Turkovic is the ambassador of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Croatia, a country which, according to the Washington agreement, could soon form a confederation with the Republic of Croatia. On this occasion, we asked her to comment on the documents signed in Washington.*

[Turkovic] They were preliminary agreements on forming a federal Bosnia-Herzegovina and a confederal union of the two sovereign states, the Republic of Croatia and the federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The agreement involves calming down the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and not only that: It might eliminate the danger of the definitive collapse of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of creating a precedent that would then definitely also be applied to the Republic of Croatia.

[Jelovac] You, therefore, think that signatures of the Croatian and Muslim representatives in Washington saved the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Turkovic] They saved Bosnia-Herzegovina for sure, but partly also Croatia, considering what could happen after a possible division of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Jelovac] What kind of state will it be? What about the Serbs, who are a constituent nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Turkovic] Bosnia-Herzegovina should be organized as a federation, composed of cantons that would be constituted according to the majority nation, whether Croatian or Bosniak. Naturally, the concept of federation, i.e., of cantonization, is open and offered to the Serbs as well.

[Jelovac] With regard to the great interest in central Bosnia, can you tell us which central Bosnian towns will be included in the Croatian canton?

[Turkovic] Details of that agreement, primarily the borders, the exact areas of demarcation, will be determined on the basis of an appendix to the agreement. Working groups are supposed to determine that in Vienna in 11 days. We will then know the answer to many questions, all the details on the demarcation of the cantons and their number. After that, on 15 March, President Tudjman and President Izetbegovic are to sign the final agreement on the federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the agreement on the confederation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

[Jelovac] The possible confederation foresees a common currency and borders, and the free flow of people and capital. Will there be a border between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and will there be customs?

[Turkovic] As this will be a customs union, there will be no mutual customs duties. The agreement on confederation would have another two additional agreements that are not proposed in their preliminary form. One of them is the agreement on the free flow of goods through the federation, that is, without customs and inspections on the territory of the federation. That solves a very topical problem for Croatia, which is, in a way, divided by Neum. All citizens of the federation will be granted free access to the Republic of Croatia and free use of roads, railroads, and airline routes. Therefore, the agreement allows better communications, which would be very stimulating for economic relations and it would revitalize the economy and tourism, not to mention the stability of the region.

[Jelovac] Still, one cannot deny that Bosnia-Herzegovina was not very developed in former Yugoslavia and that it constantly had to be financially supported. Who will finance it now?

[Turkovic] Many indicators which were manipulated before cannot indicate the real situation. Bosnia-Herzegovina can surely finance itself, it can even finance a much wider territory. In view of its potential, its mineral resources, and its great concentration of industry, it has no problems in financing itself. Furthermore, Bosnia-Herzegovina also has the chance to get substantial finances from Western European countries, the United States, emigrees, and the Arab countries. This eastern source was very much exploited in the former system, but it was not widely publicized.

[Jelovac] Do you see the future federation as a democratic state since Clinton has announced that he will support the existence of Bosnia-Herzegovina even with military force.

[Turkovic] That is a matter of scale and the legality of application of the penal system. If it is used to preserve democracy, then it is very much needed. President Clinton spoke to that effect. In order to preserve peace and protect human rights, which was emphasized in the preliminary agreement, even repressive measures might be taken in Bosnia-Herzegovina, if necessary. All that to preserve what people at this moment very much need—freedom, full democracy, and human rights.

[Jelovac] If the U.S. initiative forces Croatia to compromise, that is, to accept confederation with Bosnia-Herzegovina, does that mean that Alija Izetbegovic relinquishes the concept of a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Turkovic] All solutions, especially those in military conflicts, are compromises. Therefore, this solution is somewhere between the interests of the two sides. It is necessary to compromise in order to have peace, normalize relations, and save human lives, which should be our first goal. The U.S. formula is ideal: It enables the preservation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, very substantial rights, and the national identities in this case of two nations, and it also gives a chance to the third one within the framework of the proposed federation.

[Jelovac] How do you interpret the return of Russia to the Balkans, and especially to Bosnia-Herzegovina, in view of the open support that it is giving to the Bosnian Serbs?

[Turkovic] It is no secret, it is quite clear and quite logical. However, the support can be interpreted in different ways. Someone's patronage can be directed in a positive sense, toward bringing people to their senses. It can also be in a negative context, in the sense of creating irrational illusions about domination and power. At this moment, we see the role of Russia as positive. Russia is obviously having a realistic and rational influence on the Serbs, who probably had illusions about much greater protection, which would unquestioningly protect everything Serbian regardless of reality and the irrationality of the demands. The latest meeting between Karadzic and Kosyrev, which resulted in the Serbs agreeing to reopen Tuzla airport, proves that. So does Karadzic's acceptance of the federation between the Bosniaks and the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and also his openness to finding ways for the Serbs to accept the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation as well. That will not be easy but we must begin somewhere.

[Jelovac] The first reactions of the Bosnian Serbs to the Washington agreement called it "an internal matter between the Croats and the Muslims." Judging from the statements of Western officials who do not directly mention the Serbs, the third constituent nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, one gets the impression that the Serbs are even being given the possibility to leave Bosnia- Herzegovina and join the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. Anyway, Karadzic's main political goal is the unification "of all Serbian lands." What will happen to the Serbs, will they stay in Bosnia-Herzegovina or will they leave?

[Turkovic] At this moment, there are different interpretations of the situation. There are external elements that must not be neglected, for they can be crucial. It would be naive to believe that the destiny of the Balkans and Bosnia-Herzegovina exclusively depends upon their inhabitants. There are, of course, much wider strategic interests that have always determined the outcome of conflicts in these parts.

[Jelovac] You think that, therefore, the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina will not be able to prevent the possible decision by the Bosnian Serbs to join their native Serbia, if they are not stopped by the appropriate international factors?

[Turkovic] If these international factors were in favor of the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, then such agreements would not be signed. But, even if the international community were intent on dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is questionable whether this could be done. In this case, the situation is just the opposite: We have the very firm stance of the international community and the United States to preserve Bosnia-Herzegovina as an integral country, territorially speaking. That is a factor that the Serbs, too, will have to face and accept the solution. Naturally, not a solution necessarily at their expense, but a solution that is a compromise and departure from their absolute demands. The Serbs will have to come to terms with that.

[Jelovac] If the Serbs stay in Bosnia-Herzegovina, what will their relationship be with the Croat-Bosniak federation and the confederation of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina? What will their relations be with their native Serbia? Would it not be a restoration of Yugoslavia, with only the Macedonians and the Slovenes missing?

[Turkovic] I would not like to attempt to solve this issue now; we must first see the final shape of the agreement on creating the federation and confederation. There will surely be a role for the Serbs as well, respecting their identity, of course. They will then be proposed a role.

[Jelovac] You recently appeared on Croatian Television and, speaking about the ethnic Serbs, you stated: "We will see to what extent the Serbs will remain in Bosnia-Herzegovina." What does that mean, does it mean the Serbs will leave, and where will they go and what will they take along? Bundles or the territory they hold?

[Turkovic] You know, all those who cannot fit into a certain framework usually leave certain areas and go somewhere else. With regard to the Serbs, we must say that, unfortunately, a large number of them have blood on their hands as they have committed terrible crimes. Those people, even if there were forgiven, and we should not forgive anyone, will surely not stay where they lived before. They will go somewhere. But many who were misled will stay, for we cannot and must not blame the entire nation for crimes committed by a gang of terrorists that received support from a sizable part of their nation. That is the reality.

[Jelovac] Which part of the Bosnia-Herzegovina territory would you give to the Serbs to be annexed to Serbia?

[Turkovic] Not a single part.

[Jelovac] How do you imagine that 70 percent of the territory will be given back? Through diplomacy and negotiations or through the war option, together with the Croats when they and the Serbs normalize relations?

[Turkovic] Greater Serbia is not created only in Belgrade. It does not depend on the Serbs alone. The creation of greater Serbia also largely depends on both the Croats and the Bosniaks. If Croatia agrees to negotiate to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina with the Serbs, then it is creating greater Serbia at the same time. Not only at the expense of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also at its own. With the unity of the two nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and with the support of neighboring Croatia, the cause of the problem is slowly coming to the surface. When you have a clearly identified enemy and perpetrator of the aggression, then it is easy to apply punishment and get support for the punishment.

[Jelovac] By military means?

[Turkovic] We will see about that. It is not only up to us to use those means.

Izetbegovic Tells Muslims 'Struggle Not Over'

LD1303101694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0909 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo mosques were full of believers this morning; the Beg's Mosque in particular where the Muslims were addressed by the head of the Islamic community in Bosnia-Herzegovina Reis Ulema Mustafa Ceric. [passage omitted]

The believers were also addressed by the President of the Presidency of ours state, Alija Izetbegovic. Here is an excerpt from his address:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] On this occasion we should remember those who are facing considerable difficulties even today: those in Maglaj, Bihac, or near Olovo. Thank God, it is somewhat easier in some other

places, Allah Akbar. This is a chance to remember them and to ask the God to help them, to give patience to the weak and power to the strong to endure. This is perhaps a chance to remember with pride that we belong to a huge, huge mass of people, celebrating Bairam today—a billion people—and, like us, hundreds of millions are attending Bairam prayers, marking this great day.

You must know that the struggle is not over yet. More difficult days are ahead. However, do not be afraid, we belong to a nation which believes that you die once and live twice. [end recording]

Muslim Official Seeks Punishment of Abdic

LD1103203694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1831 GMT 11 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Banja Luka, March 11 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic has sought energetic action against Fikret Abdic, leader of the Moslem autonomous province of western Bosnia.

Addressing a session of the Moslem government in Sarajevo, Ljubijankic rejected the idea of granting cantonal status to western Bosnia, Bosnian Serb military sources say.

Cantonal organization modelled after the one in the Swiss confederation is envisaged in a Croat-Moslem deal on forming a federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina which would subsequently enter into a confederation with neighbouring Croatia. The deal was signed in Washington on March 1 under strong U.S. pressure.

Radical Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, who has sent troops to western Bosnia to force it to abandon the idea of autonomy, accuses Abdic of breaking up Bosnia.

Ljubijankic urged Bosnian Croat officials to suspend all aid to Abdic and cut off land routes to western Bosnia, arguing that this would help win over Abdic's followers for the government in Sarajevo.

Abdic, who believes that the Bosnian crisis should be resolved in talks with the local Serbs and Croats, has repeatedly accused Izetbegovic of continuing the war in an attempt to create an Islamic state and of sacrificing his own people to achieve this goal.

Changes Planned for Muslim Leadership in Tuzla

LD1403141594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1240 GMT 14 Mar 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Banja Luka, Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—The political and military Bosnian Muslim leadership is preparing to make changes in the leadership of the Muslim region of Tuzla, in north Bosnia, dissatisfied by the moderate position and growing resistance of the local authorities to the continuation of war, it has been learnt from informed Serbian military sources.

The Muslim leadership does not like the policy pursued by the leadership of the Tuzla municipality, since it affects also the different trends and political divisions in the Muslim leadership in Sarajevo, and blunts the fighting fervor against Serbs.

In accordance with the radical policy of Muslim leader Alia Izetbegovic, new orders for mobilization have been issued in the Tuzla region in order to continue the offensive on Serbian positions towards Brcko and east of Tuzla towards Doboj, Trebava and Podrinja, a region under Serbian control in Bosnia.

Izetbegovic ordered last week his forces to capture Doboj and its surroundings, whatever the cost.

In the last few days, Muslim units have been reinforced to launch an offensive on Serbian sttlements and positions on the Mountain Majevica, east of Tuzla.

The brigade was reinforced by the so-called Sarajevo Muslim Army Corps, whose forces have been transferred from central Bosnia following the signing of the accord with Croats and the placing of heavy weaponry around Sarajevo under U.N. control.

Tudjman, Churkin on Bosnia, 'Protected Areas'

LD1203221494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman has received Vitaliy Churkin, Russian deputy foreign minister and President Yeltsin's special envoy, in the presidential palace in Zagreb.

They discussed the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and throughout the region following the preliminary agreement signed by the Bosniak Muslim and Croatian sides in Washington, a statement by the office of the president says.

Mr. Churkin expressed satisfaction with the positive climate created after the signing of the preliminary Washington agreement, which is providing an impetus for a lasting solution to the problems and crisis throughout the region. He stressed that Russia welcomes the role of the United States in this process and emphasized that closer contacts between Russia, the United States, and the EU had been achieved. He again stressed that Russia supports the resolution of the problem of the protected areas in the context of an integral, sovereign, and internationally recognized Republic of Croatia. He was interested in Croatia's viewpoints and the progress of the Vienna negotiations.

President Tudjman explained Croatia's standpoints on the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on the resolution of the problem of the protected areas. He expressed satisfaction at the progress in the work of the transitional committee for the preparation of federal and confederal documents in Vienna and also at Russia's readiness to make a constructive contribution to the overall resolution of the crisis.

Also taking part in the talks were Defense Minister Gojko Susak; Dr. Branimir Jaksic, deputy head of the president's office; Leonid Kerestedzhiyants, Russia's ambassador in Croatia; as well as Andrey (?Ermanenko), an adviser in the embassy.

Krajina, Bosnian Serb Parties Ratify Accord

LD1303171894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Vukovar, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Serb Democratic Party of the Serb Lands adopted in Borovo Selo today a convention on the unification of the Serb Democratic Party of the Srpska republic and the Serb Democratic Party of the republic of Serb Krajina.

The convention was signed in Pale on 7 November last year. [passage omitted]

Granic Interviewed on Confederation Accord

LD1303235194 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2240 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Text] [Announcer] We have Mr. Mate Granic, the Croatian foreign minister and vice prime minister, on the line. Good evening, Mr. Granic. You landed in Zagreb a few minutes ago, if I am not wrong.

[Granic] That's right. I'm still in the car.

[Announcer] We have managed to get hold of you as soon as you arrived in Zagreb. Would you please comment on these 10 days, especially today, when we impatiently waited for a long time for the agreement to be reached.

[Granic] As you can see, after persistent and serious negotiations which lasted for 10 days, the draft constitution of the federation has finally been completed. We also agreed on all basic principles of the confederation, but the final form and content will be agreed only after the negotiations with the Serb side, and when the final set-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina is determined.

In addition, we discussed interim measures and the interim functioning of authorities. We also discussed the maps, borders, certain basic principles, but no final agreement has been reached on this issue. But that was not our aim. A much more important goal was finally to draw up a constitution of the federation. As you know, that had to be done by 15 March, and we completed it today.

[Announcer] We have learned from various sources that the problem in the Muslim delegation this afternoon and this evening was the authority of the president of the federation and the prime minister of the federal government. Can you tell us, if that is not a diplomatic secret, how that problem has been solved?

[Granic] It has been solved well. There have been consultations; we also had consultations with Zagreb, with President Tudjman. However, the consultations between Vienna and Sarajevo were somewhat longer, and finally at around 1900 or 2000 that problem was also solved. As far as the Croatian side is concerned, the problem was solved in a very satisfactory way.

[Announcer] Does that mean that the president has greater authority?

[Granic] It is more or less so. But, the president and vice president rotate every year and are elected for a four-year period, and one year it is a Bosniak and the next a Croat.

[Announcer] You have probably also decided whether the first president will be a Muslim or a Croat, and who will be the first prime minister.

[Granic] The constitution does not specify that. It is a matter of political agreement.

[Announcer] Such an agreement was or was not reached over the past ten days?

[Granic] No, we did not even discuss that.

[Announcer] You said that the most interesting point now is that both Croat and Muslim representatives, as well as Redman, are stressing that a joint platform for talks with the Serbs has been agreed on. Can we hear at least the basic principles of that platform?

[Granic] It was agreed that after the agreement is signed, which is to happen at the end of next week in Washington [changes thought], it means that President Tudjman will go to Washington at the end of the week and sign the agreement in the White House. The negotiations with the third side will then begin. We agreed on proposals for the constitutional set-up and on certain basic principles of territorial division—not all of it, but we still have enough time to agree on it completely.

[Announcer] I must insist, was it agreed how much territory—what percentage—will be demanded from the Bosnian Serbs, seeing that they have said that they cannot give more than 15 percent.

[Granic] That was also discussed and certain proposals for the maps have been put forward, but that is an issue of the strategy of negotiations. The information about 15 percent is not true. They are now ready to give about 20 percent.

[Announcer] There is something that you have probably not heard yet. I will try to tell you what it is about because we have already shown this report to our viewers. Today Momcilo Krajisnik made a statement following his meeting with Vitaliy Churkin, saying that the Bosnian Serbs had been offered something which is, to say the least, very interesting. The offer is for them to enter into a confederal relationship with the Muslim-Croat federation, and to enter into a confederal relationship with the so-called Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Will that be possible, and how do you comment on that possibility?

[Granic] That is absolutely impossible. Mr. Churkin had such ideas, but that was energetically refuted when we had talks in Moscow. Also, under no circumstances will Croatia enter any kind of relationship linking it directly or indirectly with Yugoslavia. That was very firmly stated to Mr. Churkin, Kozyrev, and also to the Bosniak side.

[Announcer] What is the position of the Bosniak side on such a relationship?

[Granic] As far as the main negotiator, Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, is concerned, he agrees with our stands.

[Announcer] When you say the main negotiator, are you hinting in a way at certain disagreements among the Muslim leadership?

[Granic] I cannot say that. As far as that stand is concerned, I cannot say that there are any disagreements in the Muslim side. We talked a lot about it today. Croatia is not ready to enter any direct or indirect relationship with Yugoslavia or Serbia, and everyone knows this.

[Announcer] I would like to ask you something in the end. It seems that the presence—at America's invitation—of the delegation of the Bosnian Posavina area at the negotiations in Vienna passed unnoticed. What was their role, and does it indicate that the demands the Muslim-Croat federation will make to the Bosnian Serbs will be strongest in that area, in Bosnian Posavina?

[Granic] Everyone knows who the negotiators are: Mr Kresimir Zubak on behalf of the Bosnian Croats, and Messrs Martinovic and Akmadzic were also present. The Croatian delegation is also known. As far as the presence of Messrs Pandzic, Kovacevic and Markesic is concerned, they were in the embassy and mainly expressed firm support for everything that went on, that is, the Washington agreement and everything else. I believe that this was their role.

[Announcer] And the final question is about Krajina. Momcilo Krajisnik said in the same statement that the Bosnian Serbs would insist on linking the so-called Serb Republic with the so-called Krajina. Can you comment on that? Was there any talk over the past ten days about the guarantees the U.S. gave to Croatia for the peaceful reintegration of the occupied areas?

[Granic] The guarantees are being discussed all the time—both with the United States, the Security Council, the UN secretary-general, and the European Union. No link at all can be considered. That is the sovereign territory of the Republic of Croatia, and Croatia is ready to negotiate in the framework of Security Council resolutions, the Constitution and the constitutional law.

[Announcer] Thank you very much, Mr Granic. Good night.

Poll Shows 39.8 Percent Oppose Confederation

AU1103183494

[Editorial Report] Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian on 10 March on pages 5 and 6 carries a report on the results of an opinion poll on the possible confederation between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The report does not contain any information on when and how the poll was conducted. The results are expressed in percentages and summarized as follows:

Will you vote in favor or against the confederation with Bosnia-Herzegovina?

In favor	39.1
Against	39.8
Do not know	21.1

Will you take part in the referendum on the creation of the confederation between Croatia and the Bosnia-Herzegovina confederation?	
Yes	66.1
No	17.9
Do not know	13.8
Do not want to say	2.2

What should the nature of relations be between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina?	Do not want to say	Do not know	Yes	No
Joint currency	1.7	16.8	29.5	52
Free customs	1.7	16.5	44.3	37.5
Joint army	1.7	16.2	19.4	62.7
Joint police force	1.7	15.9	17.8	64.6
Joint judiciary	1.7	19.6	17.2	61.5
Joint foreign affairs	1.7	21.4	23.4	51.5

What powers should the Confederal Council have with regard to the president of the state?	
Lesser	37.9
Greater	34.2
Do not know	24.6
Do not want to say	3.3

What powers should the Confederal Council have with regard to the heads of the government?	
Lesser	37.2
Greater	33.7
Do not know	25.8
Do not want to say	3.3

What should the new confederal state be called?	
It should have a new name	21.1
HIB (Croatia and Bosnia)	14.8
RH and BIH (Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina)	26.8
Do not know	22.2
Do not want to say	8.1
Other names	7

Serbian Forces Attack Lika Defense Lines

LD1403105094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 14 Mar 94

[Text] Just after 0600 this morning the Serb aggressor began attacks on the Croatian Army's defense lines on the Lika battlefield, the political department of the Gospic operational area of the Croatian Army reports.

The Serb forces opened heavy artillery fire on the residential outskirts of Licko Lesce, and at 1000 the attacks were still in progress, Major Darko Dekovic, the assistant commander of the Gospic operational area said. According to first reports there are no casualties, but damage to residential and industrial facilities is huge. The county information center in Gospic warned the residents to be cautious. The Perusic-Stari Licki Osik-Gospic road is still closed, and traffic is diverted onto the Perusic-Klanac-Gospic road. All school classes have been cancelled until further notice.

RSK Army Returns Fire

AU1303155794 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Mar 94

[Article by Danko Peric from Knin]

[Text] The Headquarters of the Serbian Army of Krajina has announced that in the past 24 hours, the Croatian Army on several occasions has hit Krajina positions and civilian targets in Lika, shooting from (?Trle), from where it still has not withdrawn. These attacks from infantry and artillery weapons were responded to by shooting at the Croatian Army combat positions and, it is said in the announcement, great losses have been inflicted upon them.

When visiting that section of the Lika battlefield, Milan Martic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, and Major General Milan Celeketic, commander of the Serbian Army of Krajina, expressed satisfaction with the development of events. After visiting the Kozjan region, Martic and Celeketic met the local leadership of Teslingrad, the Lika town that was most frequently attacked from Croatian soldiers' positions in this war and to which huge material damage has been caused.

The Krajina Army General Staff reported that provocations by the Croatian Army have also been registered in the Plasko region in Lika, Zemunik Gornji, Smiljcic near Benkovac, and Novigrad, as well as Kricke and other towns near Drnis and Velika Glava near Skradin.

Greece Allows Passage of Oil Tankers

AU1103182294 Skopje MIC in English 11 Mar 94

[Unattributed report: "Greece Unexpectedly 'Slackens' Embargo"]

[Text] Unexpectedly and without any previous announcement, four compositions made up of 79 wagon-cisterns carrying crude oil for Macedonia [FYROM—The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] arrived at the railway crossing Idomeni on the Macedonian-Greek border, near Gevgelija.

Unofficial sources say two more compositions with 50 wagon-cisterns loaded with petrol, were expected to arrived in the early morning hours of today. Namely, the compositions and wagon-cisterns in question were loaded before the blockade, and had been waiting to enter Macedonia for 22 days.

Alternative Oil-Supply Routes Viewed

AU1103130994 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 11 Mar 94 p 3

[Article by S. Padori: "The Alternatives 'Covered' the South"]

[Text] Three weeks after the Greek blockade of the border, our state not only leads a normal life, at least regarding the oil supply, but the established cooperation with, and the understanding of, our eastern and western neighbors [Bulgaria and Albania] inspired the eastern-western corridor. What is even more important, compared to the August embargo in 1992, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] met this blockade with solid reserves of oil derivatives, therefore there is time enough to make new agreements and activate new alternative traffic directions without feeling the lack of oil derivatives on the market.

The government appeal that panic was superfluous and that the "occupation" of the gas stations was unnecessary was fruitful, at least during the past three weeks, because we saw that it was possible to buy fuel with or without the concessions of the Greek side!

Reserves for Tranquility

According to yesterday's reserves of oil in the country, consumers can remain calm. As Assistant Minister Tome Cemerski stated for our newspaper, and as the government statement made clear, the government is doing everything it can to ease the situation after the blockade. Soon, a meeting will be organized with Bulgarian representatives to sign an agreement on a faster flow of petrol-carrying vehicles across the border. On the other hand, the gas reserves are enough for a 70 days' normal supply, diesel fuel for 82, crude oil for 60, and technical gas for industry and kerosene for about 30 days.

Alternative Warehouses

In the meantime, "Makpetrol" is working continuously on the supply of new quantities of derivatives for its itself, and for the Skopje Refinery. Thus, Ljubomir Janev, the general manager, told us that an agreement has been already signed, and has already been put in action, with the Bulgarian partners for the supply of 10,000 metric tons of gas and diesel fuel, and for 3,000 tons of kerosene and technical gas. Between 50 and 70 petrol-carrying vehicles cross the Novo Selo border daily. In order to facilitate the increased number of crossings of vehicles carrying derivatives, it was agreed with the Interior Ministry and the Customs Service to only use the Novo Selo crossing.

After the blockade, some 52,000 tons of crude oil remained in the warehouses of "Jet Oil" and "Mamiddakis" in Thessaloniki, 31,000 tons of which are the property of "Makpetrol" and 21,000 tons belonging to the refinery. The value of the "plunder" is about 7 million dollars, therefore the owners of the oil ("Makpetrol" and the Skopje Refinery) insisted on the release of the oil in a letter to the owners of the warehouses. According to their agreement, when the crude oil has been accepted and paid for, its loading and shipment to the users is guaranteed. However, as we found out, the "answer" was that the owners of the warehouses "are sorry, but we have to respect the government decision."

As far as alternative warehouses are concerned, as we found out, efforts are underway to activate two tanks of 5,000 tons located in Vlora—Albania. There is not enough space in Drac to store oil derivatives for Macedonia, and there have been discussions with "Albatrans" about the two tanks in Vlora as an alternative, which should now be emptied! If agreement is reached, the tanks will be lent to the Macedonian distributors. This alternative is quite favorable, because it could provide derivatives from the Rijeka Refinery, which is very eager to cooperate with "Makpetrol" and the Skopje refinery. In that way it would be possible to have lower transport costs, and even better, this alternative route for derivatives could be reopened.

Anyway, trouble caused by the blockage on the southern oil route has contributed to the reopening of the eastern and western transport corridors, which were looked on in the past as a reserve that few wanted to become the main distributing routes. However, now that it has become an imperative, it did not turn out to be very difficult; it was just another confirmation that life goes on, even without the southern crossing.

Australia's Decision on Names Protested

AU1403130394 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 14 Mar 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Basic Human Rights Violated"]

[Text] The Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Foreign Ministry expresses the concern and bitterness of itself and the Macedonian

public about the latest agency reports that the Australian Government is preparing to implement the decision to name the Macedonian community living in Australia as "Slav-Macedonian."

The Macedonian Government does not intend to interfere in the internal affairs of any country, and in this case Australia, but it feels the need to emphasize that by such an act the Australian Government is violating the basic human rights of loyal Australian citizens of Macedonian origin. By that act, with the force of law, solutions are being imposed that are the opposite of the generally accepted and successfully implemented multinational policy of Australia, thus directly transferring the misunderstandings and conflicts from the Balkans to the decades-long peaceful multicultural milieu of Australia. It is hard to understand that, with an legal act of the Australian Government, the positive practice of Australia in this field is being violated. That practice was, with its results, an example of solving the multinational questions not only on the Australian continent, but at large. Those positive experiences have been studied and supported with great sympathy by the Republic of Macedonia.

After the recent violent terrorist acts against the buildings of the Macedonian Orthodox Church and the Macedonian community in Australia, which caught the attention of the world's public, the Macedonian Foreign Ministry officially drew the Australian side's attention to the unacceptable reasons for such terrorist activities and the possible consequences, and requested urgent action by the Australian state in detecting and punishing those who endanger the order and peace of the prosperous multicultural Australian society.

[Box, p 1]

Protest of the Macedonians in Australia

Sydney, 13 March—According to the announcements of the SBS Radio Broadcast in the Macedonian language, the Federal Government has ordered all its institutions to refer to the Macedonians as Slav Macedonians in the future. The Macedonian community reacted strongly to this decision, and Chris Popov, Goce Stefanovski, as well as some other influential personalities in television stated that "if Australia does not change this incomprehensible decision, the Macedonians will embark on mass demonstrations...."

—T.B.

WEU Rules Outs Imminent NATO Membership

AU1103175594 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] One of the participants in the conference—which has been prepared under the auspices of the State Chamber by both Slovene universities—was Dr. Willem van Eekelen, secretary general of the West European Union [WEU]. In his speech yesterday he warned that civilian supervision over military decisions is one of the fundamental principles in providing security in democratic states.

In a brief interview to our reporter Tomaz Gerden, Mr. van Eekelen also assessed Slovenia's prospects in the European integrations:

[Begin recording] [Gerden] We asked Dr. van Eekelen about Slovenia's prospects for cooperation and integration into the Partnership for Peace, the WEU, and NATO:

[Eekelen, in English with superimposed Slovene translation] I think that it is important for Slovenia to make progress in all different directions. First in the Council of Europe, whose member you already are, and then in NATO's Partnership for Peace, which will be important for the cooperation of your army with the Western armies. In this way your armed forces will adopt Western standards in military budget, arms, organization, and civilian supervision over military policy. However, I do not believe that you or others will shortly become NATO members. There will be quite some time needed for this.

[Gerden] Dr. van Eekelen also added that cooperation with the European Union [EU] is of extreme importance for Slovenia, as it means stability for our state in various aspects. As soon as Slovenia signs the association agreement with the EU it will also be admitted into the WEU Consultative Council, and this cooperation will widen further later.

Dr. van Eekelen also stressed that the WEU in no way views Slovenia within the framework of the former Yugoslavia but treats it as an independent European country. [end recording]

Jansa on Importance of International Recognition

AU1203203694 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] A NATO delegation, led by Assistant Secretary General for Political Affairs Count Gebhard von Moltke, is paying a one-day visit to Slovenia today. Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek was the first to greet the guests in Bled. They met with Defense Minister Janez Jansa and Foreign Ministry Under Secretary Ignac Golob in Ljubljana. Tomaz Gerden has more details:

[Begin recording] [Gerden] Following the talks in Villa Podroznik, Count Von Moltke was the first to give a brief statement:

[Von Moltke, in English fading into translation by Gerden] I am very pleased that NATO has the opportunity to cooperate with Slovenia within Partnership for Peace. This plan initially pooled former Warsaw Pact countries, which are members of the NATO Cooperation Council. Partnership for Peace aims to strengthen stability in Europe and cooperation between NATO and other countries in peace initiatives within the United Nations and the CSCE.

The NATO delegation discussed details of Partnership for Peace with our representatives. The initiative will be officially signed by Prime Minister Dr. Drnovsek in Brussels on 30 March. He said the following about today's talks:

[Drnovsek] Today's visit is dedicated to the preparations for this signing, as well as the concrete activities that will ensue—joint planning with NATO, preparation of cadres, and exchange of opinions on the security situation. I believe that everything is progressing well, that Slovenia is being treated very seriously as a NATO partner, and that there is a belief on both sides that we will develop a partnership very quickly.

[Gerden] Dr. Drnovsek believes that neutral countries like Switzerland and Sweden will also join Partnership for Peace soon and that our country is in no way in any worse position than the members that have already been admitted.

Defense Minister Janez Jansa assessed the Partnership for Peace plan as follows:

[Jansa] From a security viewpoint, membership in Partnership for Peace for Slovenia is almost as equally important as international recognition. This represents a starting point for us, the beginning of a road, at the end of which is the greatest possible security that a country can obtain in a family of like-minded states.

This is particularly important because geographically, Slovenia on one side borders a relatively solid region of stability and on the other side, a region of instability. Membership in Partnership for Peace will allow us to strengthen relations with the part of Europe that represents a factor of stability, which is, of course, a precondition for any sort of social and economic development.

[Gerden] The NATO delegation was also received by President Milan Kucan. The delegation also met with the ambassadors of NATO member states. [end recording]

Drnovsek on New Party, Possible Problems

AU1203213494 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1830 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Interview with Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, president of the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia, by Sandi Frelih in Bled on 12 March—recorded]

[Text] [Frelih] President Janez Drnovsek, first our congratulations on the formation of your new party.

[Drnovsek] Thank you!

[Frelih] How do you see the political center?

[Drnovsek] The Liberal Democracy of Slovenia [LDS] will definitely be a party of the political center. I personally see the political center in this party being a moderate party of moderate political views, devoid of any special ideology. We do not wish to change the world like various ideological parties have aspired to in the past, but to merely survive in this world in the best possible way. For this reason, this will be a party that will primarily emphasize the need for stability in Slovenia, the need for political and economic stability, a party that will build on maturity in the leadership of the country and experiences gained in it, and a party that will build on a firm financial and economic system, which would give as much as possible leeway to the free initiative of our people so that we can assert ourselves in the spheres where I believe the Slovenes are the strongest—namely, hard work and lots of initiative.

We will offer what we have been offering in the LDS for the last two years, what is already producing results, and what is leading Slovenia out of the crisis.

[Frelih] A new large formation has been created. You will command one-third of all seats in parliament. What do you fear more—internal frictions in the new party because of, shall we say, strong personalities or coalition disputes in the government itself?

[Drnovsek] The LDS has been a big party even so far. The new LDS will also be a big, even bigger party. In any big party there are different people and different interests that need to be mutually coordinated. One must seek a balance between them. As the leader of this party I have been doing this even so far, relatively successfully, I trust. I am doing the same as the head of the government coalition and the prime minister. In a way, I am constantly juggling various interests; therefore, I do not expect any major problems of that nature in the future. I expect that we will manage to maintain and pursue a balanced policy within the party and within the government.

Regarding powerful political personalities, there have been many in the LDS so far. There are many in the present government coalition and there were some in the previous coalition, too, however, in both cases things functioned fairly well, I guess.

Four Parties To Form Liberal Democratic Party

AU1203193194 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Excerpt] Four parties held separate congresses in Bled this morning prior to the unification congress that is scheduled to commence in half an hour.

The Liberal Democratic Party [LDS], the Democratic Party, the Greens-Ecologically Social Party, and the Socialist Party are thus supposed to form the new LDS—the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia.

The new party, which, after unification, will possess 30 seats in parliament, which is one-third of all deputies, will continue to be led by Dr. Janez Drnovsek. He particularly emphasized the importance of continued cooperation with the Christian Democrats this morning. We have reports by Bojan Veselinovic, Sandi Frelih, and Gojko Brvar from the separate party congresses in Bled this morning:

[Begin recording] [Veselinovic] The morning congress of the Liberal Democrats was opened by party president Dr. Janez Drnovsek, who said that foreign countries are following the events in our country with interest and added that the reputation of the present LDS is growing gradually but steadily. Faced with the choice of whether to continue building on teh party's autonomy and risk another showdown with the newly emerged party or to link itself with the Eco-Greens, the Socialists, and the Democrats, we have decided in favor of unification, Drnovsek said.

Unification, he said, does not mean a change in the composition of the present coalition. Drnovsek particularly stressed the need for the new LDS to cooperate with the Christian Democrats to ensure the stability of the political scene. Relations will be good with the two remaining government parties until program differences occur, Drnovsek said.

The afternoon unification congress is supposed to elect: Drnovsek as the president of the new LDS, [Dimitrij] Rupel as the president [as heard]; 60 members of the party council, which will be formed proportionally on the basis of the results of the last general elections; [Igor] Bavcar, [Vika] Potocnik, [Viktor] Zakelj, and [Peter] Tancig for vice presidents; and [Gregor] Golobic as secretary general.

They will subsequently agree as to who will coordinate the work of the clubs of deputies of the three merging parties in the parliament. The afternoon congress is also supposed to decide about the amendment to the proposed documents, with which, bearing in mind various material situations in the merging parties, secretaries general of these parties would guarantee with their personal assets the settlement of any possible party debts.

Let us also report that the new LDS will have 30 seats in parliament, which is two seats less than it would have had if the current Democratic deputies [Tone] Persak and [Danica] Simsic were have supported unification. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Federal

Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias Visits Belgrade

AU1103163194 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Karolos Papoulias, foreign minister of Greece and chairman of the Ministerial Council of the European Union, today arrived in Belgrade. He was met at the Belgrade airport by Zeljko Simic, deputy federal prime minister. In a statement for journalists, Papoulias did not announce new ideas for peace, but stressed that the European Union will remain, as he said, dynamically present in the continuation of the negotiations on Bosnia-Herzegovina. Jelena Vidic reports:

[Vidic] Journalists meeting the Greek foreign minister at the Belgrade airport asked him whether the European Union was disturbed by the monopolization of the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the United States and Russia. Papoulias answered the following:

[Begin Papoulias recording in Greek with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] A political factor such as Europe is not disturbed. In any case, we want to maintain our presence together with other powerful factors such as the United States and Russia. However, no one should forget the European Union's contribution so far, nor the ideas in the program of activities of the European Union. These ideas are today still the most important ideas. [end recording]

[Vidic] Papoulias said that Bosnia-Herzegovina will be discussed at the informal meeting of the European Union's ministers at the end of this month. He said that the possible dispatch of Turkish soldiers to Bosnia is currently of interest for all Balkan countries, because they had agreed not to deploy their troops on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. However, if the Turkish troops are deployed in Bosnia, Greece will consider the possibility of doing the same, Papoulias said.

Here is now what Zeljko Simic, deputy federal prime minister, said about expectations from talks with the Greek foreign minister today.

[Begin Simic recording] From today's talks we expect the speeding up of the process of settling the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Balkans in general. In this sense we will hold talks with Mr. Papoulias with pleasure. We are very familiar with the stand of Greece, which is investing enormous efforts toward the peaceful settlement of the crisis, and toward the settlement by political means of all problems affecting the Balkan Peninsula. [end recording]

Meets With Milosevic

LD1103175394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic today received Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of friendly Greece and the current president of the EU Council of Ministers, and his associates.

During the course of their meeting, which passed in an atmosphere of mutual openness and understanding, they spoke about the current EU policy toward the peace process and the resolution of the crisis on the territory of former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and also about Serbia-Greece bilateral relations and cooperation, the Serbian president's office has announced.

It was concluded that a fair and permanent solution to the situation in former Bosnia-Herzegovina could be reached only if the peace option prevailed over the war option and if the international community displayed an unbiased attitude and readiness to treat equally the rights and interests of all the three warring sides in this area.

President Milosevic stressed that the European Union had a huge political obligation with regard to lifting the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in light of the fact that the Serb side has accepted its peace plan, the integral part of which is the lifting of the embargo. The European Union ought to fulfill its part of the obligations from that plan, particularly because it is impossible to resolve the crisis in this area without equal treatment of all the sides by the international community.

It was also stressed that maintaining sanctions against our country encourages those forces that are trying to realize their goals by force. It is of vital interest for all the countries suffering damage caused by the application of the economic blockade against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to launch an initiative as soon as possible for the lifting of the embargo. This is in the interest of the normalization of economic trends and the overall stabilization of the political situation in the region, in which the European Union should play an active role.

It was stressed that bilateral relations between Serbia and Greece were developing well despite the imposed limitations, which confirms the firm friendship and shared interests of the Serbian and the Greek nations.

The talks were also attended by Federal Deputy Prime Minister Zeljko Simic.

Removal of Sanctions Discussed

LD1103184694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1646 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—During the talks in Belgrade today Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and [Greek] Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias said that the EU [European Union] plan for the settlement of the crisis in former Yugoslavia should remain in force.

They also agreed that the abolition of sanctions against the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] must be

seriously examined, given that the Serbian side has met all conditions regarding this plan.

Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Zeljko Simic also took part in the talks that lasted two and a half hours.

In a statement for the press, Papoulias assessed the talks as useful and said his impression was that he would "return" to his colleagues in the EU "with very nice messages." Simic said that the talks were "exceptionally open and fruitful."

"The thinking prevailed during the talks that any form of discrimination at this stage—when one of the sides involved in the conflict is being pushed aside—cannot politically be either appropriate or effective," stressed Simic.

"The EU plan remains in force and I think that this plan is the core of any new initiative or action," said Papoulias.

In this context "the question of abolishing the sanctions is very significant," he said, adding that the stand of Greece on this subject was well-known and Greece was sticking by it.

Papoulias explained that Greece, as the chairman of the EU Council of Ministers, ought to reassure its partners that the question of sanctions should be examined both in general and in the case of Yugoslavia, in particular.

"If in principle the abolition of the sanctions contributes to a peaceful settlement of this crisis, this question ought to be examined seriously," the Greek foreign minister pointed out.

"Yugoslavia was particularly pleased with the fact that in Greece, which is the current president of the European Union, our view on the futility of the sanctions and the damage that the sanctions have inflicted on the neighboring countries and the entire Balkan Peninsula enjoys support," Simic stressed.

"It is well-known that the Serb side has fully complied with all the EU conditions that were set several months ago, including the territorial concessions in Bosnia-Herzegovina," he recalled, "but the EU reneged on its obligation to alleviate or lift the sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

The Yugoslav deputy prime minister said that "the application of sanctions against anyone at the end of 20th century is an anachronistic act."

"In our opinion the only way to restore a permanent peace is to apply those democratic principles advocated by Greece since the very outset of the crisis on the territory of former Yugoslavia," Simic said.

According to him, these are three elementary principles: a cessation of all hostilities, negotiations that have to be based on democratic principles, and respect of the will of all three sides and the search for a solution that will not be to the detriment of any of the warring sides.

Papoulias announced that the Bosnian crisis will be the main topic of a EU ministerial meeting on 26th and 27th March in Athens, adding that details will be discussed at the meeting and decisions adopted "as required by the current situation."

Asked about Greece's reaction to Turkey's attempts to send its forces to former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Papoulias reiterated his country's well-known position that neighboring countries should not send their troops as peacekeepers.

However, violations of this principle—accepted by both NATO and the European Union—would create a new situation and in such a case Greece would reach new decisions aimed at defending national and broader regional interests, Papoulias explained.

Asked whether relations with The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] were discussed, Papoulias replied that "the issue of relations with the Skopje republic was reviewed from all angles. Mr. Milosevic—and this is no secret—is expressing great interest in the resolution of the crisis in the relations between Greece and Skopje," he said.

The talks also focused on the overall situation created by the meddling of nonBalkan countries in the Balkan crisis. "All who wish to contribute to a peaceful resolution are welcome, but they should not complicate matters even further," Papoulias said.

Deputy Prime Minister Simic added that the talks also covered bilateral issues and the development of the traditionally good relations between Greece and Yugoslavia. He thanked Papoulias for his personal contribution to the resolution of the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Greek Government "which acknowledged political reality and advocated principles in the spirit of ancient Greece" since the beginning of the crisis in the region of former Yugoslavia.

After a luncheon with his hosts, the Greek foreign minister left Belgrade for Athens.

Papoulias Comments

NC1103172894 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1600 GMT 11 Mar 94

[Text] Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias concluded his talks in Belgrade with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on the Bosnian issue. After their meeting, Mr. Papoulias described the talks as successful and expressed the hope that the crisis will be overcome. He further noted that his meeting with Mr. Milosevic was very useful and announced that the European Union's [EU] plan for the settlement of the Bosnian crisis remains the nucleus of talks.

Responding to a question if Greece would change its stance and become involved in the Balkan crisis if Turkey became involved in the crisis, Mr. Papoulias said: Greece's position remains that the Balkan peoples should not be involved in this crisis. However, if this principle is violated then a new state of affairs is created and our country should make new decisions in accordance with its own interests as well as the region's interests.

The foreign minister also added that in our capacity as EU presidency, we should convince, as he put it, others on the examination and decision, in principle, on lifting the trade embargo against Yugoslavia. If the lifting of the embargo will contribute toward a peaceful process then these questions must certainly be addressed. Mr. Papoulias further noted that he discussed with Slobodan Milosevic the situation in Skopje [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] and the intervention in the Balkan crisis by forces that are not related to the region. Mr. Papoulias made it clear that the moves by other, non-Balkan countries for a peaceful solution of the problem are welcome, without this meaning involvement in the problem.

Mr. Papoulias is now attending a working luncheon being hosted in his honor by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

The two-day visit to Russia, which Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias was to begin today, has been postponed because of his Russian counterpart's departure for Israel.

Criticism of Foreign Involvement in Bosnia

AU1203205094 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Commentary by Stefan Grubac]

[Excerpts] Had those who started the war in the former Yugoslavia cared about peace, it would have been accomplished relatively quickly and, above all, naturally by offering a just peace and by treating all the warring sides equally. However, because the interests of the big and powerful come before the interests of those whom the war directly affects, the big and powerful pursue their policy not in the interest of those who are affected by the war but to their own benefit.

We recently had a chance to see what kind of interests are intertwined here from a seemly banal fact. Namely, Saudi Arabia purchased from the United States $6 billion worth of new aircraft for its aircraft carrier. High-level Saudi officials signaled to the Europeans that they have not done enough for the Muslims in Bosnia. France—which wanted to—failed in striking a deal to sell its own aircraft. In place of such a reprimand, the United States was rewarded with an enormous financial deal in which President Clinton was personally engaged. By the way, Saudi Arabia is an Islamic country that financially assists the Bosnian Muslims the most.

Let us now reexamine the relations between the Unites States and Western Europe and the United States and Russia. These relations are also being mutually reexamined and reshaped precisely on the issue of the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. It has transpired that Western Europe—that is, the European Union—for a long time failed to contribute toward a solution for the Balkan war zone. Therefore, the United States has taken the initiative, more to demonstrate to the European Union that it is not capable of resolving such a problem than to actually solve the problem, and even less to solve it justly. The political message is clear. Europe is not capable of resolving such conflicts by itself and the presence of the United States is inevitable. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the sanctions, let us recall that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in a meeting with Greek diplomacy chief Karolos Papoulias actually sent a message to the European Union saying that it has a great political obligation to abolish the sanctions against FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], keeping in mind that the Serbian side had accepted its peace plan, a component of which is also an abolition of the embargo. Prolongation of the sanctions against our country encourages precisely those forces that aspire to accomplish their goals by war, the Serbian president emphasized.

As the time is advancing, there is less belief in the Muslim-Croatian federation in Bosnia, as well as a confederation of this federation and Croatia. Does this not mean that instead of a practical step toward peace, an illusion has been created among the international public that the United States is trying to do something—that is, paving the way to force the Serbian side, primarily politically but if possible also militarily, into new territorial concessions. There are increasingly more facts that suggest that this is the true aim of this agreement. Izetbegovic says he would need 60 percent of the territory. The international media assess that the Muslim side would be satisfied with 50 percent or even less territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. In any case, Izetbegovic has doubled his tactics to accomplish this goal. He is faking political cooperativeness in front of the world, as instructed by his tutors, but simultaneously does not hide new military offensive actions against the Serbian positions.

On the other hand, Croatian President Tudjman in his apparent cooperativeness wants to take advantage of the expiry of yet another United Nations Protection Force mandate for new threats and not only that to the republic of Serbian Krajina.

Regardless of everything, it is increasingly more difficult for the international public to invent endless lies about what is happening in the former Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Prices Rise as Value of Dinar Falls

AU1103193294 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by M. Brkic: "German Mark—1.5 Dinars"]

[Text] The Yugoslav dinar continued to lose its value yesterday. BORBA has learned from reliable dealers' circles that the value of one German mark was between 1.42 and 1.5 dinars in gray hard-currency transactions between banks, and banks and companies.

The erosion of the national currency has already been going on for 10 days. According to the decision by Dragoslav Avramovic, the National Bank president, the National Bank tried to intervene on the money and securities market by selling state-owned securities the day before yesterday [7 March]. The central monetary authority thus tried to prevent the further growth of the commercial banks' liquidity since it established that the money surplus in bank accounts was enabling the banks to pay the difference between the real and the official exchange rate.

Although the response of the banks to buying state-owned securities was good, the devaluation of the dinar was not halted. It is considered that the national bank intervention has not borne fruit because the cause of devaluation was ill-defined. The appearance of the difference between the real and the official exchange rate is not a result of the high liquidity of banks, but of the mistrust that companies have in the program of monetary reconstruction and the economic recovery of the country.

Representatives of the Federal, Serbian, and Montenegrin Governments met with [Federal Prime Minister] Kontic the day before yesterday and decided to try to take all possible economic steps to stop the devaluation of the national currency. Mistrust in the economy is growing from day to day, however, which can be seen from the exchange rate of the dinar against German mark over the last 10 days. It has constantly been falling—from 1.10 to 1.50 dinars for a German mark. Some businessmen and banks are pessimistic and predict that the state and the national bank could apply an administrative measure. If this happens, the prognoses are not favorable.

The commodity markets have already responded to the gray zone in hard-currency transactions. People who went to the market during the weekend noticed that the prices of agricultural products had risen. Apart from agricultural products, the prices of some other products, such as cement, iron, and other construction materials as well as ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy products had risen by 30 to 40 percent.

Kosovo

Over 200 Serb Policemen Raid Albanian Homes

AU1203210894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 12 Mar 94

[Text] Serbian policemen yesterday surrounded Ceraj village, north of Kosova, for six consecutive hours. Here is a report by Shaban Arifaj from Kosova:

[Arifaj] More than 200 armed Serbian policemen raided 22 Albanian families in this village under the pretext of searching for arms and Albanian adolescents who abandoned the former Yugoslav Army during 1991-92.

A report that arrived today from the Kosova Information Center and the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms in Mitrovice stresses that during the siege, the police arrested and physically maltreated several people, while many others were presented with summons to go to the police station. It is reported that the police behaved fiercely against the Albanian inhabitants of this village that borders Serbia. The expedition finally abandoned the village, taking several hunting weapons from the homes of the peasants, who had permission to keep the weapons, and threatened that unless the runaway adolescents are not handed over, the police violence will not cease.

Reports from Mitrovice also confirm that the Serbian police this morning carried out the third consecutive search for Enver Brahimi, from the Tavnik quarter of the city, who has been living in Germany for three years now.

Meanwhile, the Information Commission of the Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK] first branch in Koder e Trimave in Prishtina reports that Nazif and Rexhep Beqiri were seriously maltreated at the police station in Dardani of Prishtina under the pretext that they were in possession of weapons.